The Nation.

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The Week.

Judge Parker is getting on—he is now a "traitor." This epithet is hurled at him for his emphatic speech of Saturday advocating justice to the Filipinos. But what did he say? Simply what all Americans, those who now denounce him first among them, would have said prior to May 1, 1898. Judge Parker merely did the appalling thing of reiterating the historic American policy. When he said that oppressed peoples ought to be free, even when this country is the oppressor, and that government without consent is repugnant to American principles, he was uttering what would have been thought the merest commonplaces six years ago. Now they are incendiary. But the real flame is of others' setting. As Goldwin Smith said, the United States burned up the Declaration of Independence when it conquered the Filipinos. It did more than that. It relieved Spain, as Judge Parker tersely said, of a thorn which had been in her side for centuries, to thrust it into our own. This is the common view of educated Spaniards. They smile at Uncle Sam's simplicity in entering upon a heritage of trouble. Sooner or later, self-interest will lead us out of the Philippines, if the sense of justice does not. Judge Parker's strong and truthful words indicate a national duty. Those whose love of liberty goes deeper than the lips, should repair to the standard which he has raised.

With lawyer-like seizure of the real point at issue, the Parker Constitution Club's report on the Panama lawlessness of President Roosevelt goes swiftly to the core of that nefarious business. Wasting no words on the Constitutional right of the President to "recognize" the republic of Panama while it was still pawing to get free of the slime of conspiracy—no doubt, Mr. Roosevelt had the power to do that shockingly indecent thing, if he had the conscience to do it—the report singles out the steps which neither the Constitution nor common morals entitled him to take. One was to violate a treaty; the other was to forbid the free passage of Colombia's troops within her own territory. Here was no mere question of keeping transit open across the isthmus. Mr. Roosevelt issued that fifty-mile order which so good a Republican as Senator Spooner admitted that he could not defend. Nay, according to the note which Admiral Coghlan sent to Gen. Reyes, our forces were ordered to prevent the Colombians from landing in *any part* of the province of Panama. This means that President Roosevelt assumed jurisdiction over much more than fifty miles of Colombian soil. To do so was, of course, an act of war, and warrant for it cannot be found in all the argument or all the wit of Mr. Roosevelt's apologists. How startling President Roosevelt's course in Panama was to the older Republicanism, Senator Hoar showed at the time; now, we have ex-Senator Edmunds, with his merciless analysis of the facts and the law, saying that Mr. Roosevelt "dismembered a friendly State to get a canal."

The mere fact that two of the eight Presidential tickets in the field this year are bound to receive nearly all of the votes, is no excuse for forgetting the others. The *Independent* published last week a collection of articles from the Presidential nominees of five of these parties, Populist, Prohibition, Social Democrat, Socialist Labor, and National Liberty. A candidate who has no expectation of being elected is relieved of the haunting fear of committing himself indiscreetly, or making "breaks." This very fact, combined with the earnestness and the exceptional point of view which take a man into one of these dissident movements, makes the articles interesting. A vote for either Roosevelt or Parker must be cast in the vast majority of cases from highly complex motives; but the other candidates make the simplest of appeals. Dr. Swallow has reduced the needs of the situation to one reform; Mr. Watson to eight, which naturally group themselves together; Mr. Debs and Mr. Corregan to a reconstitution of society on lines that are beautifully simple until the details have to be worked out. Although differing more radically from one another than they do from the great parties, the points of view of these candidates are curiously similar in one respect. "The corporations have learned the game of the kings, 'Divide in order to rule,'" says Mr. Watson. "Having split the people into two factions, one called Republican and the other Democrat, the corporations rule the land, first through one of these parties, and then through the other." Dr. Swallow agrees as to the offence, but names another offender. "To divide favors with these parties and thus keep both in the field is the policy of the liquor traffic," he says. "Between the Republican party and the Democratic party there is no difference so far as the workingman is concerned," says Mr. Debs.

In the election of 1900 all the minor parties combined cast less than 4 per cent. of the total vote. They are all hopeful of better things now. Watson's theory that neither Gold nor Bryan Democrats should vote for Parker would logically point to a Populistic landslide. Swallow sees "some hope that from each side there are those who will leave the old, and, coming half way, meet each other as a new organization." Debs says that the Socialist party's expansion to majority proportions is certain. He points to 240,795 votes in 1902, and promises the casting of many more this year. The claim of George Edwin Taylor, candidate of the National Liberty party, that 60 per cent. of the negroes in nine specified States will vote for him, means, by the census figures, nearly 200,000. Both the Socialists and Prohibitionists cast in 1900 and 1902 votes larger than that of Birney, whose candidacy in 1844 drew enough Abolitionists from the Whig party to elect Polk, or than that of John P. Hale, the Free Soil candidate in 1852, and almost as large as that of Van Buren in 1848. And, if the services of minor parties are to be considered, we must not forget that it was the Prohibitionists fusing with the Democrats on one State office that put Mr. Cunneen in position for his present invaluable service in this State.

One of the reasons given for the fight against La Follette was that the sound judgment of the people of Wisconsin favored giving a Governor two terms and no more. Yet the Stalwarts decided last week to keep in the field their own candidate, who has already served two terms, while as an alternative many of them will vote for the Democratic nominee, who is an aspirant for his third. That is the comedy of the situation. The tragic element has been furnished by the efforts of the men who tried to bring about party harmony. When so eminent a pacificator as Senator Spooner has failed pitiably, it is idle to talk of outside efforts accomplishing anything. The failure of the Supreme Court to decide the technical merits of the bolt last spring gives the Stalwarts an excuse for still calling themselves Republicans, but it seems to have brought about a complete exchange of arguments between the two sides. Three weeks ago it was the La Follette men who resented the National Committee's activity. Now, it is the Stalwart who winces. Then it was the Stalwart who declaimed against the candidate who would refuse to give up the fight after a judicial mandate. Now, he is himself galled by the same criticism.

Rhode Island Republicans are disturbed over the outlook. The party has been

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badly damaged by revelations of the corruption of the Brayton machine. The leaders are no longer sure of a majority, as is shown by the election of Congressman Granger in 1902 and the election and reëlection of Governor Garvin. Both these popular Democrats have been renominated, and not only they may win for themselves, but their strength may actually imperil the electoral vote. Menaced by this danger, the Republican managers have persuaded Chief Justice Stiness to run for Congress, in the hope that his character and standing may give the party a respectability which it sorely needs. The Chief Justice is on the whole the most dignified and powerful officer of the State; for the Governor has no veto and controls few appointments. His step, therefore, from the bench into the hurly-burly of partisan politics, to enter a contest in which he seriously risks defeat, is evidence that he as well as his fellow-Republicans feel that they are facing a grave crisis.

Governor Odell's attempt to prevent qualified voters in this city from being even registered shows that he will stop at nothing, and at the same time that his perceptions are so dense that he is not aware of the inevitable reaction caused by his high-handed interference. He practically avows that he gave the order which led to the outrages of Friday and Saturday. In the most indefensible and brutal manner, well-known citizens — clergymen, public officials, reputable professional and business men —were met at the registration booths with challenges implying that they were criminals. Men whom district captains of both parties stood ready to identify as residents of the district were rudely accused of trying to violate the law. The thing was done with such wholesale effrontery, with its malicious object standing so plainly confessed, that it can but add to the repulsive implications of Odellism. The right of the State authorities to aid in preventing electoral frauds in this city we have not questioned. The power conferred by the statute is, however, one to be used scrupulously and with a high sense of responsibility. Gov. Odell would wield it as an instrument of partisan terrorism. Where there should be extreme care and fairness in detecting cases of illegal voting, he exhibits incredible recklessness. His hirelings challenge right and left, evidently without investigation or knowledge, and on so sweeping and senseless a scale as to discredit the motives of the whole proceeding. It is the iron hand of the Governor applied to this city—exactly that sort of combination of stupidity and callousness on his part which led despondent Republicans to say in advance: "Well, if Odell concludes to come down here and take us all by the throat, it looks as if there wouldn't be enough Republican votes in New York to be worth counting."

Last December, Messrs. Conrad and Bonaparte, the Post-Office investigators, reported that Cornelius Van Cott had been operating with Heath and Beavers in swindling the Government. Van Cott paid Beavers $4 a day, charged against New York "expenses." Messrs. Conrad and Bonaparte describe the transaction as "fraudulent" and add:

> "We find it impossible to doubt that Mr. Heath, Mr. Van Cott, and Mr. Beavers himself all knew the payment of this additional compensation was expressly forbidden by law, and that it was called 'expenses' to evade this prohibition."

Still, the influence of Senators was strong, and a President who believes that "no man who condones corruption in others can possibly do his duty by the community," kept Van Cott in office. Then a set of inspectors recommended the removal of Van Cott, his son, and twelve subordinates, but Platt stood by them. The President, who despises cravens and weaklings, wanted something milder, and got it from Assistant Attorney-General Robb, who censured Van Cott for allowing the son too much authority. The elder was asked to disgorge $2,100—$1,800 paid to his brother nominally for inspecting mail-boxes and really for doing nothing, and $300 more illegally paid Richard; but he stuck to his place. Richard was forced out, for he had stuffed the post-office with his heelers; he received $3,200 from the Government, but gave most of his time to his private business; he quartered on the post-office, at a salary of $1,500, a ward of Cornelius Van Cott, who, as a stenographer, gave most of her time also to private business. In short, the Van Cott family proved to be an uncommonly thirsty set of leeches. One of the Van Cott henchmen, a postal employee, was arrested with Richard, on Saturday, on a charge of colonizing voters. In view of these latest revelations, no one can deny that the retention in the New York post-office of Cornelius is a public scandal, for which President Roosevelt can offer no defence except his fear of offending Senator Platt.

The threatened boycott of the Pennsylvania Republican party by organized labor is indeed sharper than a serpent's tooth. It is nothing less than incredible that intelligent American workingmen should allow any dispute over terms of employment, any fight against a "scab" State Capitol, to blind them to the great central truth that all the good things they have in the world came to them as the direct gift of the Republican party. All have come in the same way, from their full dinner-pails to the carpets and pianos in their homes. What Republican speech in two decades has failed to mention those carpets and pianos? Do not these besotted Pennsylvanians know that no less an authority than Gen. Charles H. Grosvenor filled more than twenty pages of the *Congressional Record* last winter with an anthology of Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic expressions about the laboring man? Look through that supreme repository of political truth, the Republican campaign-book, "Labor and Capital, relative share in prosperity"; "effects of Trusts on"; "Labor Laws in Republican and Democratic States"—such titles abound. Is all this logic, all this statistical material, to be wasted? Senator Penrose has been in conference with the President, and something may be done about it. But the very idea of a labor boycott of the Republican party in that seventh heaven of protection, Pennsylvania, is enough to make even a Rough Rider's blood run cold.

Reports of white-capping in darkest Mississippi continue to come in, albeit belated. The outrages in Lincoln County have been so serious that a delegation of negroes "of the plantation type, farmers plain and simple," appealed last month to Gov. Vardaman. He asked them who had advised them to come to him. They replied that no one had, whereupon he gave them the vague assurance that "the officers of the law would protect them." We hope they will. The Lincoln *Times* gives an account of a meeting of white citizens held to consider these outrages and "in order that the citizens might realize the depths of depravity to which the [white-cap] organization has descended." The executive committee appointed by a previous citizens' meeting last spring reported that its discoveries were "horrifying." "This band (which *once included* many good citizens who have since dropped out because they could not stomach the lawlessness proposed) have not balked at plotting the wholesale destruction of property, or even the assassination of white men whose existence they deemed dangerous to their welfare." The meeting heartily endorsed the crusade against these bandits, condemned "white-capism in all its phases," and agreed "to assist in upholding law and order in Lincoln County." Thus other white Southerners are learning that lawlessness in the treatment of negroes inevitably means lawlessness for whites also.

In charging the Federal grand jury at Huntsville, Ala., on October 11, Judge Thomas G. Jones of the Northern District of Alabama laid down a new theory of Federal jurisdiction over negro lynchings. He set forth his views at length, with frequent citations of authority, but the reasoning is very simple. "Under the Thirteenth Amendment," the judge says, "Maples [the negro murderer taken from jail

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and lynched at Huntsville] had the immunity as a citizen of the United States to be protected against lawless violence by the mob of whites to prevent his enjoyment of the right of trial . . . when such violence was directed towards him because he was a negro, with the intention to deprive him of that right." Thus a fundamental distinction is made. If the lynching of Maples was provoked purely by abhorrence of his crime, it would be merely an offence against the State laws. "If, however," the judge charged, "you find something more than a mere felonious purpose to avenge the crime imputed to him, or general malevolence, and that the mob was actuated by the bad spirit that a person of Maples's race when accused of crime should not have the right to be acquitted if innocent, or condemned or punished by the court if guilty, and that the mob hung him to prevent his enjoyment of that right because of his race, his murder by a mob of persons of a different race constitutes a crime against the laws of the United States." Judge Jones wisely added, in laying down this contention, that every officer and juror of the Federal court was an Alabamian, and there was not the slightest reason for jealousy of it as an intruder.

It is for the best that these views should be laid down in the case of a negro whose crime was homicide. Yet Judge Jones, in continuing his charge, showed clearly the impossibility of condemning lynching for the lesser crime while condoning it for the greater. "Can any man, in the wildest flight of the brain," he asked, "picture Robert E. Lee or John B. Gordon, no matter what the charge against the criminal, joining a mob to break down a jail and taking a prisoner out to hang him?" "Can any of us, as conscientious men, deny that . . . there is a deplorable tendency to mob black men for crimes and misdemeanors which, when committed by white men, are allowed to go unpunished or left to the courts to punish?" And the responsibility for much of the lawlessness the judge placed where it belongs. "There are those with us," he said, "who, for notoriety, or to carry some selfish end, always make low appeals to the basest passions of our race, in the discussion of every public question which in the slightest degree touches upon the relations between the races. These men constantly assault the right of equality before the law, by the base teaching that giving a negro his right under the law would result in social equality, though they well know that 'justice without respect of persons' involves neither social nor political right."

One point made by Professor Sumner in his letter printed in Thursday's *Evening Post* should interest those generous souls who defend protection upon the ground that charity begins at home, for nations as well as individuals. Free trade, say they, might be the best thing for the whole world if the whole world could be induced to try it. But if the United States can make more by sticking to protection and let the loss due to an unscientific, inequitable distribution of the world's wealth fall on England or Germany, it would be crazy policy to experiment with free trade. Let the foreigner look after himself. Professor Sumner, however, shows that our present policy of selling goods for export far below the prices asked for the same goods in this country, is helping along our hated rivals at the expense of the American people. If the goods, even at these export prices, yield a profit, which is far more likely than that they are sold at a loss, then our own people, who are paying about 25 per cent. more for them here, are taxed by the Trusts in an outrageous fashion. The horns of the dilemma seem to be about equally pointed.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has been compelled to pay duty on the frame of a painting shipped from Montreal and entered at St. Albans, though the picture itself came in free under the tariff-law section applying to educational institutions. The director of the Museum declares it is the first case of his knowledge in which the institution has had to pay duty on a picture frame, but he is told by the Custom House authorities that it will not be the last. Under a very similar section of the tariff law in 1887 the frames for pictures in the Corcoran Gallery were admitted free. The plight of the Museum authorities is indeed pitiable. They denounce the law and its interpretation as unjust, as if that would help the matter, and ignore the simple means by which the most drastic of laws may be made flexible. Has not Massachusetts a Senator? Is he not the closest of personal and political friends to the President? Surely, the heart that was touched by the wailing of the pickled sheepskins, will not turn to marble when Art holds out her manacled hands.

A writer in *Cassier's Magazine*, Mr. Joseph R. Oldham, N.A., disputes Rear-Admiral Bowles's assertion in the last annual report of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, that the time required for the construction of a battleship in this country "compares not unfavorably with the best results obtained in foreign countries, namely, Great Britain and Germany." He points out that the American battleship *Ohio* was two and a half years on the stocks, whereas the *Rivadiva*, built at Genoa by an Italian firm, was launched within thirty weeks from the time the keel was laid. A larger ship, the *Libertad*, was put overboard at Barrow-in-Furness within forty-one weeks from the beginning of construction. One of our latest battleships, the *Louisiana*, was contracted for October 15, 1902, to be contructed in forty-one months and to be delivered ready for sea in March, 1906, a period of three and one-half years. The *Connecticut's* keel was laid in March, 1903, and she was launched September 29, 1904. Mr. Oldham asserts that if there were not such constant changing of the plans by the Board of Construction, the superintending constructor, and the contractors, and so much time lost in trying to harmonize the changes, a battleship could be bu[illegible] in twelve months, and at half the cost. Mr. Oldham himself has seen a 5,000-ton cable steamer constructed, launched and completely finished, with all her complicated machinery, within three months from the date of the contract, largely because the builders had matured designs which were in no way altered. Mr. Oldham may take too rosy a view of our builders' ability, but he clearly proves that our wasteful Government methods are not confined to the Post-Office Department and the navy yards.

The engagement south of Mukden precipitated by General Kuropatkin's advance last week, and barely recorded as we went to press, has been incessant until now, when we are still unable to announce anything decisive of the battle or the campaign. On both sides there have been blows to receive as well as to give, strategic positions have been lost, taken, and retaken, guns have been captured. No successful flanking movement is reported, and the situation is something in the nature of a deadlock; at least the advance is stayed. The fierce nature of the fighting, and the extraordinary losses, are compared to those of Liaoyang, with an increment; but exact information in either case is unobtainable. Some discount must be made in view of the lack of unbiassed testimony and of the highly romantic nature of the conflict itself; but we may be sure that none of the horrors of war are wanting. They are to be perpetuated, to all appearance, during the winter. The approaching reinforcement of the Russians will be met by that of their opponents, and if there be bankruptcy neither in men nor in money, the process will assume the phase of simple attrition—as in the last stages of our civil war—when the nation which has most human lives to sacrifice will prevail. Here is obviously Russia's advantage, and her all-rail communication and steady service really bring her armies nearer to the seat of war than Japan's. Still, no forecast is now of much value. Meanwhile, the fate of Port Arthur is undecided.

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TAFT ON THE POWER OF THE PURSE.

Secretary Taft's speech at the Union League Club on Thursday night was mainly a defence of extravagance. The facts he admitted; he could not well do otherwise with the Treasury reports before him. Responsibility for the great heightening of the cost of government, however, he refused to accept for his party. It was, rather, a kind of mysterious and fated "tendency upward" which had played the mischief with the accounts. Besides, if you would but adopt "one way of looking at the increase"—namely, to compare the growth of expenditures with the growth of wealth—you would not be so sure that there had been extravagance. The fact that we are rich enough to endure lavish outlay makes it appear, when you come to think of it, very like frugality.

We think Mr. Taft makes a mistake in minimizing the serious problems in government finance which this country must promptly face. If he is a member of the next Administration, he will have to give anxious days to devising ways and means—including new taxes—to enable the Treasury to meet its obligations. Glance again at the record of bad financiering.

So recently as 1897, the last year before the Spanish war, the total expenditures of the Federal Government were no more than $365,774,000; but in 1900, after the smoke of battle had cleared away, it was found that the outlay stood at $487,713,000 in a time of peace. The hope was then expressed that the national finances would return to something like ante-bellum conditions; but, instead of shrinking, the expenditures steadily increased until in 1904 they rose to $582,403,000, or, deducting the $50,000,000 chargeable to the Panama Canal, to $532,000,000. Thus it appears that the aggregate outlay has advanced from $365,774,000 in 1897 to $532,000,000 in 1904, and an examination shows that the principal cause was an increase of some $134,000,000 in the cost of the army and navy. Civil expenditures have risen by some $32,000,000, arguing extravagance in every department of the Government; but the chief factor has been the growth of military outlay.

Until the present year, the prosperous condition of business had enabled the Government to meet its growing liabilities without difficulty. Imports had been large, and, by 1903, the customs receipts had risen to $284,000,000—an increase of some $108,000,000 over the figures for 1897. So, too, the internal revenue, even after the repeal of the temporary war taxes, stood at $230,810,000 in 1903, as compared with $146,688,000 yielded by the same taxes in the last year before the Spanish war. In fact, the aggregate receipts from customs and excise increased by no less than $192,000,000 between 1897 and 1903. In the latter year, with expenditures which amounted to $506,000,000, the customs and excise receipts stood at $515,000,000; and, with the $45,000,000 derived from land sales and miscellaneous sources, the Treasury was able to show a handsome surplus. In 1904, however, expenditures advanced to $532,000,000 or $582,000,000 if the Panama payments be included, while the receipts from customs and excise dropped to $494,000,000, and miscellaneous revenues did not increase. The result was a deficit of nearly $42,000,000, if all expenditures be included, or a small surplus of $8,000,000 if the Panama payments be excluded. In whatever way one reckons, the increasing expenditures have at last overtaken our present revenues. The growing deficit for the current fiscal year bids fair greatly to exceed the $23,000,000 estimated by Secretary Shaw.

So grave a financial outlook, Secretary Taft is dimly aware, will be held by the simple-minded to reflect upon the Administration. He warns them, however, that they must fix the responsibility elsewhere. It is not the Executive, it is not even the Republican party, that must be blamed, but Congress. Congress, says the Secretary solemnly, has "the power over the public purse." If there has been extravagance, the fault must lie in the body which alone has the power to vote away the public money. Now coming from a man who professes to be a realist in politics, looking at things as they are, unmoved by theories, this strikes us as singular. What has the vague governmental abstraction to which Secretary Taft refers, got to do with the actual practice at Washington? Very little.

In the first place, he knows, and everybody knows, that it is policy which determines appropriations. No maxim is more familiar. It has been in the mouths of chancellors of the exchequer and finance ministers from time immemorial. People in England blamed Sir Michael Hicks-Beach for not having lived up to his pledges of economy. He squarely met the challenge. It was not his wish or work, but the policy adopted by the Government, which had swelled the estimates. Reform your policy, and then you may talk about reforming your finances. It is this unquestionable truth which really fixes the responsibility for our plight upon the Republican party. Not only has it enjoyed unopposed power for seven years, but its policies have been confessedly expensive. It boasts of doing things in a large way. To "keep money in circulation" and to provide all sorts of openings for contractors to get rich out of the Government, has been its constant and almost avowed practice. It scorns doing things "on the cheap." Hence the fact that loose control of the finances and a lavish habit have come to be associated with a Republican Administration. It is its wasteful policy which makes wasteful finance.

Furthermore, Mr. Taft cannot be so innocent as not to know how the party organization, and combinations within it, have long since broken down his fine-spun distinction about Congress retaining the power of the purse. It is the Republican machine which now has that power. Expenditures, appropriations, votes of money for special interests, are controlled by party pressure, reinforced by a system of log-rolling. What power of resistance has a partisan Congress when a partisan President sends to it a pension order? If the party leaders held back, they would promptly be "sent for." At the White House they would be told that the measure was vital to the party's success, and that they must vote for it. The Executive has a thousand ways of "getting at" them. So of the appropriations for a big navy and for new offices and increased salaries—Congress is not left to deliberate independently on such matters. They are first "fixed up" by party leaders; and when the money is voted, the roll-call is that of Congress, but the determining power is that of the Republican organization. It is this obvious, this glaring fact of an insidious partisan machine having obtained control of all departments of the Government, in a way practically to obliterate their independent functions and to weld them all into a unit in the execution of the mandate of the party bosses, which makes Secretary Taft's harking back to the Constitutional theory of the division of powers seem almost fantastic. One may expect to hear him gravely expound, next, the doctrine of the consent of the governed in the Philippines!

"POPULAR CHORDS."

"If President Roosevelt is reëlected and an American citizen is in peril anywhere on this globe, there will be another similar act of war." Thus spake Attorney-General Moody in Jersey City last week. His audience "arose and cheered." It was evident, noted the admiring reporter, that Mr. Moody had "touched a popular chord."

No doubt; but the question is whether it is a chord he should have stooped to touch; whether a Cabinet officer, feeling his responsibility as he should, ought to be so ready to split the ears of the groundlings with wild and whirling words about war. If making a "popular chord" vibrate is the test of statesmanship, Mr. Moody would have to yield the palm to many a sand-lot orator. Vulgar and inflammatory appeals of which the Attorney-General would be ashamed, often produce more frenzied applause than that which attended the above flourish. He, as one of the judicious, would grieve at the spectacle of a Bryan, a Watson, a Debs setting the galleries roaring. Yells of delight do

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not prove a sentiment sound in their case, nor do they in the case of the Attorney-General. A well-graced actor, capable in all the niceties of his art, will not arouse such tumultuous cheering as can easily an uncouth player in a Bowery theatre by means of some banal or coarse utterance. Mr. Moody himself would probably be above sending such a clap-trap telegram as that of President Roosevelt to the Chicago Convention—"Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead"—yet he could not deny that it thrilled a popular chord. The real question is whether it was not a chord which ought to be muted instead of thrilled.

A false and low conception of patriotism underlies all these Chauvinistic appeals to the mere sense of national bigness and force. The patriotic spirit which such words as those of the Attorney-General tend to evoke is too much like that of the Hungarians fifty years ago, as reported by Madame Mohl to Senior. A German living in Hungary praised the people to her as being so intensely "patriotic." "Are they honest?" "Oh, no; they do not know what honesty means." "Are they just?" "No, they do not know what justice means, but they are so patriotic. We Germans have nothing like their patriotism." "Does it show itself in caring for the welfare of their people?" "Not in the least; it shows itself in wearing the Hungarian dress, in speaking the Hungarian language, and in lamenting the loss of their privileges."

Hungary long since outgrew that kind of patriotism, which goes only with the rawest stage of national development. Crude self-assertion of the sort Mr. Moody echoed in his speech befits solely a parvenu among the nations, uncertain of itself, doubtful of its reception by others, and convinced that the only way to win respect is by bluster and insult. The Attorney-General would never think of regulating his private life by such standards; why should he, then, his action and utterance as a public man? As a matter of fact, we know that, as law officer of the Administration, he would never think of plunging into a war in behalf of an American citizen in peril anywhere on this globe. The first thing he would do would be to inquire patiently into the facts: Was the man actually an American; was he in peril for having violated a law of the local jurisdiction; if he had been wronged, would not an apology and redress be forthcoming from the foreign government concerned; would it not be enough to point out what international law prescribed in the case, without a moment's thought of indulging in braggadocio? As Attorney-General, that course, we have no doubt, is the one which Mr. Moody would be personally inclined to follow. Why is he not as stump-speaker also?

The question takes up deep into the perils to which the popular orator is exposed, especially in a partisan campaign. There was some reason in Carlyle's denunciation of political speakers. Not one of them could utter the truth, he averred; they could only flatter the prejudices and inflame the passions of their hearers. Similar was the implication of Mr. Beecher's recipe for popular preaching—when you had nothing to say, just yell loudly. It is always easy to get a cheer. Only observe the fustian morality which sets the theatre clapping, from orchestra to top gallery; only note the crude half-truths, the superficial resorts, the unfair personalties which drive the ordinary political meeting mad with applause. Any speaker can have that tribute, if he will lower himself to it. But ought not an educated man like Attorney-General Moody, a public officer charged with great responsibilities, to care more for the right instruction of the people than for their unthinking plaudits? Ought he not to maintain before them that a nation is great only when its walls are laid in justice and buttressed with fair dealing, and to leave rash talk of war to the untaught or the unprincipled? There exists a deeper popular chord which it ought to be the pride of every enlightened statesman to touch; for the people reverence just action and will praise magnanimity in man or nation, and will pin their faith, in the long run, not to the demagogue who would fool them to the top of their bent by boasting of their ability to whip any country on earth, but to the sober and high-minded leader who will tell them that their true triumphs and glories are those of justice and peace.

JUSTICE AT LAST.

Thanks to President Roosevelt, justice has at last been meted out to the man who, above all others, has been responsible for the deficiencies in the Steamboat Inspection Service which made the *Slocum* disaster possible. James A. Dumont, after having been tried by himself and pronounced innocent on September 23d last, has been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to dismissal from the service by the impartial investigating commission of army and navy officers and civilians constituted by the President. With Dumont go Robert S. Rodie, the supervising inspector of the Second District, and Thomas A. Barrett, one of the local inspectors. More than that, the President directs that their successors overhaul the local office from top to bottom, removing all men who are unfit for their positions.

But the report did not stop with these recommendations. It is a review of the whole situation, bearing out completely the revelations made by the *Evening Post* in the winter of 1903. The only result then was the appointment of a successor to Dumont in Washington and the transfer of his evil influence to this port. At that time a good deal of Dumont's political pull, with which he had successfully defied all the numerous efforts since the days of Secretary Sherman to bring about his removal, was still in working order. However creditable Mr. Roosevelt's action since the catastrophe—and we would withhold no deserved praise—it must always remain a biting commentary upon our administrative methods that, with the facts all before the officials, it was still necessary to sacrifice a thousand lives to bring about the dismissal of the guilty and that reorganization whose necessity every interested person was aware of. The reorganization has now only just begun. If the Secretary of Commerce is lulled into fancied security after merely dismissing Dumont and his fellows, comparatively little will have been accomplished. There is need of new laws and new regulations. Some system of holding the inspectors to account for their work is absolutely essential. There must be a different method of paying them, and an arrangement by which they will be relieved from duty when disqualified by age. As the Commission points out, there also must be a statutory power to bring home to individual owners a criminal liability when their vessels have been improperly navigated.

In the *Slocum* case the Commission naturally found that the owners were "censurable in a high degree for the inadequate and improper conditions" on their boat, and that, whatever "their technical legal liability, they and their executive agents bore largely the moral responsibility." The inefficiency and cowardice of the master and crew, the lack of proper inspection, the rotten fire-hose and life-preservers, and the bad judgment of the pilot in beaching the ship were other reasons for the appalling loss of life. All this would be bad enough if it related to only one ship. But the Commission's report is full of warnings as to the future. It declares that there are many similar vessels doing service whose construction is as faulty as that of the *Slocum*, which "was not abnormal," but "typical." To remedy these conditions there must be unceasing efforts for a long time to come. The public is so satiated with horrors of all kinds that it speedily dismisses from its mind even so ghastly and needless a tragedy as that of the *Slocum*. It is, therefore, all the more the duty of the responsible officials to devote their energies to sweeping reforms, no matter what the expense or trouble to which steamboat-owners be put. The Secretary of Commerce can personally have no more important work for a year to come than the overhauling of the inspection service until it becomes a genuine credit to the nation. Such a result is not at all impossible of attainment, and it may mean

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the saving of thousands of lives now imperilled.

One lesson must not be overlooked, namely, the need of bringing into such an investigation outside experts in no way connected with the department of the Government under the probe. The one dissenting opinion in the report before us is that of Mr. Uhler, the present head of the steamboat inspection service, who intercedes in behalf of Robert S. Rodie. When the local board sat upon its own case under Gen. Dumont's guidance, it gave an admirable instance of what "reforming from within" means. It carefully censured everybody except its own guilty inspectors; threw nearly the whole blame on the crew; falsified the facts; lied as to one of the coroners, and from beginning to end tried to shirk its own responsibility. No matter how desirous of altering a bad state of affairs the President or the head of a department may be, there is an inevitable, often an unrecognizable, bias on the part of men in office. Insensibly they are swayed by a feeling of loyalty to their fellows even when these are caught red-handed. There is a certain pride in their department which would rather hush up unpleasant facts than honestly confess the stain and openly wipe it away. And then, once you start an investigation, no one can tell what revelations will come out. Those in the seats of the mighty may themselves be hurled to earth. Hence the necessity of calling in some examiner whose pulse will not beat a whit faster whatever the neglect or corruption he uncovers. Just what the President did, with such admirable results, in the *Slocum* case should have been the procedure in the Post-Office frauds. A committee of Congress, at least, should have been entrusted with the duty of bringing out the facts. Instead, an anxious President and his worried party, in obvious dread of what might reach the light, decided to reform "in our own way and at our own time." As a result, no one believes that the process was either thorough or complete.

"ILLEGITIMATE VICTIMS" OF WAR.

So serious have been the German losses from typhoid fever in Southwest Africa that the mutterings of discontent in the press have now become a chorus of protest. It is bad enough, the critics say, that the prestige of the service should have been lowered by military blunders of various kinds, but that the medical department of the finest army in the world should have failed so lamentably in its efforts to safeguard the health of the troops is nothing less than disgraceful. To this the Government has made an unofficial reply that the possibility of a dangerous epidemic was foreseen; that seventy physicians, many of them bacteriologists, have been dispatched to the front, together with elaborate filtering and distilling apparatus. The defenders of the Government also point to the recall of Major Glasenapp, the commander of a field force which was practically wiped out by typhoid, as a sign that the authorities are prepared to hold commanding officers accountable for the health of their men.

This is locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen. There are 170 cases of typhoid now in the base hospitals of the colony, and the daily report of deaths shows that new arrivals are as subject to the disease as the men who have been in the field for a year. On a small scale the Germans are enacting over again the American experiences in our little war with Spain, and those of the English in South Africa. In our campaign only 268 men were killed by Spanish bullets, while 3,862 perished in hospital—the victims of our military and medical inefficiency. Since the beginning, wars have had their "illegitimate victims" by the thousands. One need but recall the scourging epidemics which swept through Europe in the wake of the Thirty Years' War to see that a campaign at that time invariably visited its punishment upon victors and vanquished alike, even when the bloodshed was over. But with national epidemics a thing of the past, the question has arisen whether armies also cannot be freed from the terrible diseases which have hitherto accompanied them.

To this question, Major Louis L. Seaman, who served as a volunteer surgeon in 1898 and has just returned from Mantchuria and Japan, has but one answer. In his address delivered before the Association of Military and Naval Surgeons at their St. Louis meeting last week, he declared that typhoid, enteric fever, and dysentery are preventable, and maintains that the Japanese medical officers have proved this beyond all doubt. From personal observation he reports that the "conspicuously empty beds" of the contagious and infectious wards of the great Japanese hospitals "voice more eloquently than words the most important lesson of the war." Dr. Seaman saw only a few cases of disease of the respiratory system, only three of typhoid in Mantchuria, and only occasionally a case of dysentery. Of the many thousands of patients in the hospitals he visited, not a baker's dozen were suffering from diseases of the digestive organs. In fact, there were but a few medical cases all told.

This extraordinary result Dr. Seaman attributes to three causes: the powers given to the Japanese medical officers, their preparation for war, and the excellence of the ration furnished to the soldiers. The Japanese are the first to recognize the true value of an army medical corps. "The medical officer is omnipresent." He is with the advanced scouts, carrying his microscope and chemicals, testing and labelling wells so that the army shall drink no contaminated water. Towns are at once safeguarded by the bacteriological experts on each divisional staff, and no soldiers are billeted where there is the slightest danger of infection. In camp the medical officer is unceasing in his efforts to instruct the men in their care of themselves. As a result, although operating in an extremely unsanitary country, the Japanese situation is the very reverse of that of the French in Madagascar in 1894, where of 15,000 men 29 were killed by bullets and 7,000 by preventable diseases. "Every man who dies in our army," said a high Japanese officer to Dr. Seaman, "must fall on the field of battle."

It was this general's belief that the Russians would lose four men by disease for every one killed, and he counted upon this difference in the health of the two armies to neutralize the superiority of Russian numbers. That he had good ground for his expectation would also appear from what Major Seaman has to say about the lack of Russian preparation for hostilities. He learned that the surgeon-general at Vladivostok said, the night before Togo's first attack: "Oh, there will be no war. If Russia expected war, I should be the first to know it, so my hospitals could be in readiness. As it is, I have never been so short of supplies as I am to-day." Major Seaman declares that Verestchagin himself, "familiar as he was with war in its most brutal and bestial aspects," must have been horrified at the immorality and drunkenness which everywhere marked Russia's preparation for the uplifting and glorifying "supreme triumph" of war. "Sodom and Gomorrah — the current synonyms of Port Arthur and Vladivostok in the Orient—were temples of virtue in comparison to the debauchery, licentiousness, flagrant immoralities, and openly flaunted vice recently practised in those cities." A better preparation for every disease known to armies is hardly conceivable.

Dr. Seaman severely blames our own army for its blindness to the changes now under way, for its failure to give the medical corps an adequate representation on the General Staff, or to send medical observers to join the Japanese army. He thinks the contrast between the faces "full of health and hope" of the gravely wounded Japanese and the "poor, wan, emaciated, and almost hopeless faces" of our own victims of mismanagement—"unwounded and illegitimate"—should stir the War Department to undertake a complete reorganization and remodelling of the medical service.

PREVENTION OF RAILROAD COLLISIONS.

During the first six months of 1904 no less than 388 passengers have been kill-

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ed on American railroads. It is a black record. The potential causes of railway wrecks are constant. The engineer forgets an order to meet another train at a certain station though the order is in writing and is presumably pinned up before his eyes in the engine cab. The conductor of the train has a copy of the same order, but he forgets it, or is unable to prevent the engineer's error. A train is directed to wait at a certain station for two other trains from the opposite direction, and it waits for only one of them, then going on to its destruction; or the order says that a certain station must be reached within a certain time, and the time is misread or miscalculated. There is nothing mysterious about the causes of these collisions which now agitate the public mind.

About 15 per cent. of the railroad mileage of the country has the block system, the well-approved method under which the number of collisions is enormously reduced; but, on the other 85 per cent., passengers and trainmen—particularly trainmen—are added to the death list month after month and year after year with distressing regularity. If the people are to make their indignation effective, attention must be concentrated on one class of accidents—collisions, which constitute the great bulk of the disasters that give American railroading so bad a reputation abroad.

There is practically only one remedy—the block system. All railroad managers know this. They put the block system in force on their busiest lines, thus justifying the assertion of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its last annual report, that this is the only recourse. The only reason for the absence of so simple a safeguard is the cost; but this plea is greatly overworked. One prominent railroad manager said, not long ago, that the block system had been introduced on several hundred miles of his road at an increase in the pay rolls of the telegraph operators and signalmen of only 3 per cent. This was not one of the largest trunk lines, and the protection afforded was less complete than that which we find on some of the Eastern trunk lines and on the well-equipped railroads of England; but it did greatly reduce the collisions and the death lists.

The block system means that no train starts on any part of the road until the line is ascertained to be clear of all other trains *for a known distance*. Without the block system, trains running in the same direction can be kept safely apart only by holding them a certain number of minutes at stations, and by the use of the discredited red flag; while on a single-track line the avoidance of collisions between trains running toward each other depends upon unerring adherence to the time-table, or, when trains are behind time, on perfect care and vigilance in asking for and reading telegraphic orders; unfailing memory of rules, time-tables, and the superiority of different classes of trains, and attention to diverse distracting duties under the most trying circumstances of weather and overwork. The block system, on the other hand, makes all trains of equal importance (as regards safety), makes the "danger points" fixed instead of variable, and does away with errors from defective watches, misreading of time-tables or written papers, and forgetting telegrams.

Consideration of the block system does not (at present) require notice of such refinements as the automatic stop, used in the subway to check a careless motorman. Neither can there be much profit in considering, just now, the question of overwork of trainmen, or of the influence of the trade unions. It is true that, when traffic is unusually heavy, trainmen will, for the sake of earning large pay, remain on duty too many hours. The officer in charge is tempted to permit this, or at least to wink at it, because he thereby prevents a blockade. The spirit of the trade-union agitations has weakened some trainmen's sense of responsibility; and many trade-union leaders are culpable for concentrating their attention on pay and hours and grievances, to the neglect of efficiency. But the majority of collisions are due to the error or neglect of men in good health and not overworked. The Government bulletins are full of cases of collisions where those responsible are reported as having good past records.

It is fair to say that in some quarters progress in adopting the block system has been delayed by the desire to wait for the invention of more perfect apparatus. American railroad officers believe—though Englishmen have not yet adopted this view to any extent—that the ideal block system is the automatic. It costs very much more to install than does apparatus for the non-automatic or manual system, hence managers do not easily get the necessary appropriations. But this waiting attitude is indefensible, for the crying need is the immediate adoption of *some* block system; the use of manual signals pending the perfection or more general approval of automatic signals. One prominent trunk line whose approved standard is the automatic, has yet put in the manual system on many miles.

The dilatory policy of the railroads has now continued for so many years that they can find no fault if Congress takes radical action. The Interstate Commerce Commission, in its last annual report, laid before Congress a definite measure, and there has been no adverse criticism of it. On the contrary, the manager of one important trunk line declared his intention of preparing to comply with a law like that proposed, which contemplates complete block signalling within five years. The Interstate Commerce Commission is the most appropriate body to exercise governmental supervision in this matter. With all its faults, it has done fairly well with the Federal statute of 1893, making automatic couplers and airbrakes compulsory everywhere. The people of the country have a right to require of railroads a reasonable assurance of safety, and the way to enforce this right is now quite plain. The railways have had their chance to make a good showing; too many have neglected it, and their showing is appallingly bad. Unless the managers act of their own motion in adopting safety appliances, the only thing they have to expect is a mandatory law with heavy penalties for its violation.

OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

Comptroller Grout's reactionary attitude, and the rumor that the Board of Education is partially yielding to it, are the latest symptoms of a prevalent failure to understand the meaning and motives of the modern educational movement. Even to the Chancellor of our State University and to Prof. Barrett Wendell, the alert educator appears to be a person engaged chiefly in adding "frills" to our time-honored educational garments, as it were in pure pedagogic sportiveness; while to Messrs. Crosby and McIntyre, the Comptroller's experts, he is the victim of a timid gregariousness—of "a certain *esprit de corps*, or tendency to sympathize with and even defend whatever the educational associations of the country may, for the time, seem to approve, however inadvisedly." (The sense is a trifle obscure, but the scorn is unmistakable.)

A popular system of education, we read in the Comptroller's reports, aims "to provide a course of instruction and study best calculated to secure the highest average of intelligent citizenship." The best test of the efficiency of such a system is that it shall succeed in sending out, from the elementary school, "graduates having a practical knowledge and habitually correct use of the English language, together with such knowledge of mathematics, geography, and history as may be reasonably expected." These are the "essentials"; and any "special" studies which interfere with the healthful acquirement of these must be excluded as involving a waste of time and money and a loss of efficiency. "There can be no knowledge, training, or accomplishment, however desirable, of sufficient relative importance to warrant its acquirement in the public schools at the expense of what is called a common-school education." Of a similar tenor was Chancellor Whitelaw Reid's Convocation Address, which called forth a hearty "Amen" from the New York

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Times in an editorial on "'Fads' in Education."

Intelligent citizenship! Is that to be nurtured by an education adapted to the production of tally clerks and cash girls—an education which gives no outlook upon the vast industrial civilization of our time, quickens and aids no aptitudes other than those of the pen and the tape-measure, awakens and feeds no interests that are humanizing and civic? Genuine education is scarce begun: the tools of education are furnished—little more—to be used selfishly or socially, criminally or worthily, according as the development of the moral faculties, the sentiments, the energies, the aspirations of the child is directed.

It is assumed that education is mainly a matter of the intelligence, whereas it is more fundamentally a matter of the emotions and the will. Of a truth, it is because education has failed to touch the heart and imagination, to nourish "admiration, hope, and love," and to discipline the will—has concerned itself so little with the real essentials of citizenship, with character, with honesty, loyalty, reverence, service, self-respect, self-control, idealism—that it has done so little, comparatively, against the forces of corruption, lawlessness, selfishness, and vulgarity which are rampant among us. The Old Education of a simpler social and industrial order achieved some of these things, though not so much by the school as by those other agencies, the home, the church, the broader type of vocation, which have long been failing us and must now be so often replaced by the school. *Must*, we say, because this is no matter of choice, but of national necessity. Democracy cannot prosper with parts of men for its pillars; it must produce whole men or perish. And it must do so despite the tendency of modern industrial life to develop and use mere fractions of men—mere "hands," the makers of small parts of things, mere cogs in the great commercial wheel. And it is upon its educational agencies, upon its potency as an educational institution and influence, that the State and the nation must rely to produce the men and the leaders of men upon whom its destinies depend. It is because the Old Education now promotes a narrow, routine intelligence, with the emphasis on drill, habit, and memory, whereas Democracy demands reason, judgment, observation, originality, that it must give way to an education which is liberally directed towards these ends.

The modern educator flatly denies the primacy of the so-called "essentials" in early education. The young child has far more important matters to attend to than desk and book-studies. These do too much violence to the natural powers of the child, who is not a sedentary and still-life creature, but one who learns and grows largely through play and activity, through the handling and shaping of things, through imitation and experimentation. Instead, therefore, of being a hindrance to the "essentials," when he is old enough to begin them, in his second or third school year, the "special" studies, if they are properly pursued, respect the child, break the outrageous monotony of desk work, bring zest and interest into the schoolroom, and instead of hindering actually promote progress in the "essentials."

Conventional educational values must be revised in the light of new standards. There is too much naïve ignoring of the real and well-known causes of our present failure to accomplish the results we have hoped for in the elementary school—namely, greatly overcrowded classes, which preclude individual attention; the poor physical condition of the children, due to underfeeding and unsanitary conditions in the tenements; the foreign nationalities (twenty-seven in one school), and their varying standards of living and manners, and, we must add, the still insufficient equipment of our teachers, for which the too low standards of our training schools are partly responsible. It will no doubt be said in reply that the Old Education at any rate succeeded in producing worthy and powerful men and women. Undoubtedly; but mainly because, coöperating with the meagre forces of the school, were other educational forces mightier than they—the old-fashioned home, gone from the city and so fast disappearing even from the country, the old forms of domestic industry, the old trades and crafts, the old free life with nature at the door, the direct contact with the simpler productive activities of the world, the old folk-lore and folk-song, and all the popular arts. We have discovered that we must find substitutes for these educational forces. The New Education is in part an effort to provide them.

THE GREAT POLITICAL STRIKE IN ITALY.

FLORENCE, October 2, 1904.

On the thirty-fourth anniversary, September 18, of the entry of the Italian troops through the breach of Porta Pia into Rome, we spent the morning in the Piazza della Signoria or wandering through Via Calzaioli to the Duomo, trying to get reliable news of the "general strike" officially declared "terminated," but affirmed to be still continuing at Milan. The interprovincial telephones had been silent for days; telegrams with answers prepaid had remained unanswered; the Florentine papers, which, notwithstanding the partial strike, managed to appear regularly, printed telegrams from four to fourteen hours old. Private letters from Milan written on Monday, the 19th, affirmed that the strike had been absolute and universal, and that, despite the "orders of the Labor Exchange" to end the strike and return to work, the majority of the workers had refused to obey, and insisted on prolonging it at least until the evening of the 20th-21st; in proof, they pointed to the fact that for five days not a single newspaper had appeared in Milan, that the Syndic himself had been unable to get his manifestoes printed, and that he had been obliged to lithograph them. Perfect order reigned, and, with the exception of the assassination of one Dr. Gadola by a common criminal now in safe custody, no blood had been shed either of civilians, police, or military, nor any attack made on private or public property. Incredible as the facts announced appear, it turns out that they are perfectly true, and whereas a week since we should not have hesitated to scoff at the announcement of a general strike in any single city of Italy, still less in several cities at once, we have to record an absolute five-days' strike in Milan, and strikes more or less general in Genoa, Turin, Venice, and Naples, and, shortest and mildest, in Florence, thanks to the excellent ordinances of the ex-wounded Garibaldian prefect, Annaratone, of the municipality, and of the citizens in general, who left it to the workmen and shopmen to come to work or to stay at home, many declaring that in either case their daily wage would be paid as usual.

Your readers may remember my letters to the *Nation* in March, 1902, from Rome, on "The Railway Strike in Italy," in which the pledges given to the nation by the young King in his first speech to Parliament were enumerated; and that of last May on "The Italian Socialists," the failure of the attempted general strikes in Rome and Florence—in both of which appeared my conviction that, as in England during the Chartist agitation, as in France always and quite lately, so Italy would fail miserably if any attempt should again be made. In the congress of the International Socialists at Amsterdam, though the general attention was fixed on the personal duel between Guesde and Jaurès, the uselessness and damage of a general strike as a weapon of economical progress were emphatically dwelt upon; only Ferri (and that incidentally) maintained that it was a weapon to keep in reserve in a political crisis. The Dresden motion of 1900 was reaffirmed by a majority, it is true. "No compromise with bourgeois governments or classes; nay, relentless war of the masses against the classes" was proclaimed. Yet Jaurès maintains his ascendency in the Socialist arrondissements in Paris; and Turati, in the *Critica Sociale* (August 16), demonstrated to our *then* entire satisfaction that at Amsterdam, as at Bologna, the victory of the *intransigenti* was merely apparent. The mere list of reforms which they themselves demanded, he said, could not in any country be secured by the Socialists alone; even the Germans, with their three millions of Socialist electors, are showing symptoms of impatience at the compulsory "orthodoxy" which renders their immense number useless, paralyzed as they are by the feudal organization of Germany. Little thought Turati, as he penned the twenty-six columns of report and criticism, that, before he could publish another number of the *Critica*, he, as Socialist leader, would be compelled to participate in a general strike, and, as member of Parliament, accept the responsibility of proclaiming the termination of that strike; to find himself and colleagues vic-

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toriously defied by Labriola, the intransigent victor at Bologna, who induced the workmen of Milan to prolong the strike in defiance of the deputies of the extreme Left and also of the president and executive of the Labor Exchange in Milan! But so it happened; and if the leaders of both Socialist factions—if the radicals and republicans—were taken by surprise, taken prisoners, we may say, by their Benjamin elect, the proletary, how can any blame be cast on either the local or central authorities for their ignorance of the spirit that was abroad?

Blame or praise matters little now, but certain it is that on Thursday, the 15th of September, there was perfect calm, at least on the surface, throughout the country, and tidings of "the happy event" were alone awaited with curiosity. The young King is popular, "Elena of Montenegro" equally so; hence a real desire that the Queen should give birth to a son and heir to the Italian crown was prevalent. The desire was gratified on the evening of the 15th, but the news only reached the public on the morning of the 16th, when Humbert II., Crown Prince and Prince of Piedmont, received a really hearty national and international welcome. Rumors of a general strike reached Florence towards evening, but no one believed them till a late hour, when the *Corriere della Sera*, of date Friday the 16th, announced that a general strike had been proclaimed and commenced in Monza, and that, precisely at the moment of the entrance into the world of the future sovereign, the "sovereign people of Milan" had ordained not only a general but a universal strike, as a protest against the repeated massacres of the unarmed proletary by the royal army and the carbineers. Let who will deny the fact, this first sudden peremptory declaration was spontaneous and genuine.

News had come from the island of Sardinia that, owing to a labor dispute at the mines of Buggerru, two companies of troops had, without provocation, fired upon some five hundred strikers, who belonged to no league or union, and actually while their leaders were in conference with the masters; that two miners had been killed, three severely wounded, and several others more or less hurt. The Genoese workmen, who had lately been restless and turbulent, protested, held meetings, but reached no specific decision. Then from Castelluzzo came tidings of another massacre, by carbineers, of certain peasants who were holding an orderly meeting to pay their shares and take their lots in land assigned to the agricultural coöperative association lately established. They were perfectly orderly, and the room in which about sixty were assembled was left open. The brigadier asked for the list of the members, which might be an inoffensive measure on the part of a syndic or even a chief of police, but on the part of the carbineers was a mere arbitrary abuse of their uniform. The secretary refusing their demand, the brigadier declared all the peasants in arrest, and fired and killed two, while his comrades fired on the fugitives, who thought only of escaping to their homes. This fresh outrage, this fresh "proletary blood" shed with apparent impunity, so enraged the people that the vague proposition for a general strike was put forward when tidings of the Buggerru catastrophe first reached the continent. Stormy meetings were held at Sestri Ponente, near Genoa, and at Milan, where, at eleven at night on the 15th, the general strike was declared, and on the morrow commenced in earnest; all seemingly accepting the motion of the "Labor Exchange," "whose members, on account of the blood shed anew by the assassins of the homicidal Government, decide on a general strike in token of their indignation and abhorrence, and in order to prevent henceforward the intervention of the military in conflicts between labor and capital."

In rough numbers, the population of Milan is half a million, the workingmen above fifteen years of age are 116,000, the number of members of the Labor Exchange at the end of 1903 rather more than 30,000; hence if only these members had gone on strike the interruption of the business of the great industrial city would hardly have been apparent. But, by the unanimous confession of the entire press when, after five entire days of enforced silence, the newspapers reappeared, the entire business of the city was suspended; even the newspapers printed during the night of the 15th-16th, and dispatched by train to the provinces, were not distributed in Milan. The *Secolo*, while strongly stigmatizing the effusion of blood, had disapproved the proposal of the strike, suggesting instead the union of all the liberal and democratic forces of the nation for the installation of a Government pledged to the prevention of further bloodshed; observing that if, after the violent scenes of 1898, a general strike had been resorted to, to-day the Government and the municipality would be in the hands of clerical moderate reactionaries. Nearly the same language was used by Turati in a public meeting held on Friday, but he was hissed by the vast multitude assembled and the strike was voted unanimously.

It should be borne in mind that no question of labor conflicts arose, so that when the decision was carried to the mills, factories, warehouses, and shops, to the tram offices, etc., the workmen merely informed the employers that they abandoned their work as a protest against the slaughter of their fellow-workmen; that they had no cause of complaint against themselves.

No one believed at first that the strike would last more than twenty-four hours. The employers offered not the slightest resistance, and the meetings held in the Arena of 20,000 to 30,000 people embraced all classes, who united in protesting against the abuse, even the use, of the military on the occasion of labor disputes. Had the strike ended on Friday or even on Saturday, the "protest" must have arrested the attention of all Italy, because it would have appeared what it really was, a universal cry of indignation against the use of the national forces in conflicts between class and class. But in this, as in most cases of sudden popular tumults, the leaders had let loose forces they could not control, and the real people, bent on a practical issue to their protest, listened now to this, now to that suggestion. While the distribution of Milanese newspapers was prohibited by the Labor Exchange, papers from the other provinces were sold as usual. In the evening a lithographed manifesto from the Sindaco, signed by all the assessors, was posted. It recognized the noble indignation that agitates the souls of the citizens, who are begged to oppose violence with calm, to confine their protest within serene limits and civic virtue, and concluded: "We, your representatives, are at one (*solidali*) with you in protesting against the slaughter of these latter days, in your resolution to prevent their repetition. This very evening your mayor will start for Rome to inform the Government personally of your indignation, trusting meanwhile that you will remain calm and soon return to the work that you have abandoned in a painful moment."

Here, then, we have the tacit approbation of the citizens and the open adhesion of the municipal representative to the "indignant protest of the working classes against shedding the blood of their fellow-workmen." The Edison electric workmen remained at their posts, and not one was molested, though no special protection was afforded them. Some of the gas workers struck, others remained at their posts, also unmolested. The master bakers' union appealed to their men to return to their work, observing that "one day's strike was a protest equal to that of several; that to deprive Milan of bread was to inflict the heaviest suffering on their own class; and that while they should endeavor to supply the city even if the men persisted on strike, if their efforts fell short of the public necessities the blame would fall on them and their counsellors." All the working bakers returned to their task unmolested. At first it was asserted that all the railway workers had resolved to join the general strike, and many possibly did so; but, for reasons not yet wholly explained, they were by their directive committee ordered to remain at or return to their posts, and the order was obeyed, though at Genoa and at Venice partial strikes occurred.

Towards evening the cry was raised, "Down with Giolitti! Let the strike continue till he is dismissed," and the cry was echoed in the second immense mass meeting in the Arena. The vigilance of the workmen must have abated, for the *teppisti*, as the scum and riffraff of the populace are called in Milan, began to ply their trade. Cabs were stopped, restaurants and cafés which had remained open were compelled to close, and when the proprietor of the famous old Casanova Birreria refused to close, and the waiters and some of the public took his part, a sort of free fight ensued, in which the party of order would have had the best of it if one of the *teppisti* had not knifed and killed Dr. Gadola. On Saturday morning a fresh public meeting was held; indignation was expressed at the murder committed, and Turati exhorted the people to end the strike and return to their work. Lazzari announced that on the morrow a meeting of the extreme parliamentary Left would be held in Milan. To shouts of "They must dismiss Giolitti!" Turati replied: "The Deputies cannot promise you the head of Giolitti or of any one else; the resignation of any minister depends on the majority in Parliament; we can demand its reconvocation—nothing more." Meanwhile the press association requested immediate permission for the printers, compositors, etc., to return to their work, so that the citizens to whom bread for their bodies had been accorded, might also have bread for their souls. But the "Federazione del Libro" (Milan branch) refused permission, affirming that they must remain united with other workmen until the proclamation of the end of the general strike.

At midday came the following telegram from the Sindaco Barinetti, at Rome, to

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CARNEGIE BRANCH

the assessors of Milan, which had to be published in lithograph:

"CITIZENS: The Home Minister has taken action in order to repress the abuse by the military; the carbineers suspected of guilt have been subjected to penal procedure and arrested. The Minister has also taken steps to hinder the authorities from intervening in conflicts between capital and labor, leaves full liberty for all manifestations, refrains from intervening (save in cases of danger) in public meetings. These assurances having attained the aim of the strike, I trust that calm will be everywhere maintained and that all will return to their work."

That the telegram was authentic there can be no doubt, and it is more than confirmed by Giolitti's letter to the mayor of Turin in answer to his telegram expressing the indignation of the municipal Socialistic councillors at the massacres of Buggerru and Castelluzzo. It is too long to translate as a whole, but too remarkable a document to be passed over in silence. The President of the Council and Home Minister replies "explicitly and instantly to the telegram sent in the name of the Socialist councillors of the illustrious city of Milan," repeating that he has for the last three years constantly affirmed and maintained the absolute right to strike, and the non-interference of the military in labor disputes. He explains the painful incidents of Buggerru and Castelluzzo as wholly independent of the Government; affirms that as long as he is at the helm he will enforce obedience to the law by all, and invites the honorable councillors to reflect on the radical change in home policy effected by himself, and the enormous difficulties that he has had to contend with in order to secure to the Italian proletary the benefits that have accrued to them (presumably in their occasional victories over their employers). Hence he asks whether they can suppose that he intends "by insane violence to neutralize such splendid results, and feels sure that they need no recommendation to maintain order, to prevent any disturbance which would compromise the cause of liberty indispensable to the material welfare, to the moral and material progress of the popular classes." When the syndic's telegram and the Minister's letter reached Milan on Sunday morning, no doubt was felt that the strike would cease at once. Public meetings had been held *ad libitum;* no troops had appeared; the police had simply arrested all disturbers of public order. Two days' loss of wages is a serious loss to men who live from hand to mouth; the proprietors had been patient, at least outwardly; was it wise or prudent to try their tempers further? The directors of the Labor Exchange decided in the negative, and isused a manifesto *commanding* the members of the extreme Left to instantly reorganize parliamentary action, to pursue obstruction to its utmost limits, to prevent all legislative work until Giolitti was removed and a law passed prohibiting the presence of the military on the scene of labor conflicts; then *ordained* the close of the strike and the resumption of labor on the morrow, Monday, the 18th inst.

Meanwhile the members of the extreme Left, Socialists, Radicals, and Republicans, who had arrived at or were already in Milan, held a meeting in the town hall, and, after a couple of hours' discussion, voted the following order of the day: "The Deputies of the extreme Left assembled in Milan note with heartfelt pleasure the generous awakening of popular energy in defence of the lives of the working classes; they confirm the convocation of all the members of the extreme Left for Wednesday next, 21st inst., in Rome"; resolve to demand the immediate convocation of Parliament to discuss the conduct of the Government and its responsibility, affirming on their own part that the recent ferocious repressions are unworthy of a liberal Government, and hence that the present Ministry cannot possibly remain in power. Moreover, they pledge themselves to propose legislative measures which shall make it impossible for the military to turn their weapons against the people, and to obtain their passage by obstruction and by all possible methods. Immediately after this meeting the secretary of the league of resistance, accepting the decision of the Labor Exchange and the order of the day of the extreme Left, invited the Italian proletary to end the strike at once and return immediately to work.

All anxiously awaited the grand reunion of the extreme Left in Rome, and, general as was the expectation, the delusion was universal. Space forbids us to note the various deliberations of the various factions in their separate meetings. At a general meeting of Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists on September 21, "ferocious systematic repressions" were declared unworthy of a Liberal Government; hence the impossibility of the continuation of the present Ministry. The immediate convocation of the Chambers was voted, and a deputation chosen to demand it from the Speaker. Then a fresh meeting for the 16th of next October was decided on. *Voilà tout.*

Giolitti, who had remained impassive during the strikes, gave no sign or token that he was aware of the meeting of the extreme Left. The president of the Chambers, Speaker Biancheri, came to Rome and summoned the members of his staff to consult in regard to the immediate convocation of the Chambers. The Council were of opinion that they were incompetent to decide the question, the only time that the House had been convoked without the authority of the Ministry being in 1870, when the Speaker acted on his own authority. Requested to give at least their opinion as to the demand, they unanimously agreed that immediate convocation was unnecessary and inopportune. This opinion was at once communicated to the delegate of the extreme Left, and thus the only practical proposal of the extremists has ended in smoke. As to the closing of the session and an immediate appeal to the country, so far as Giolitti is concerned he may never have heard of such a proposal, for any attention paid to it in his official and officious organs. Hence the professed aim of the general strike—to obtain the dismissal of the Ministry, the dissolution of the Chambers, and a general election—has utterly failed, and the three parties are laying the respective blame one on the other.

J. W. M.

Correspondence.

INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Secretary Taft begins his account (in the *Churchman* of October 1) of the Government educational work in the Philippines with the statement that its chief end is to "prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government." This, he maintains—with what object it is difficult to see—is in direct contrast to the English colonial policy in India, which is to keep the people in ignorance, because this is essential to contentment under a strong paternal government. In support of this accusation of intentional neglect he gives statistics including the number of pupils under instruction, wrongly quoting the figures of the census of 1891 as those of 1901, which are more than a million greater.

This error, however, is of little importance in comparison with his apparent ignorance of what has been done to promote education in India in the last fifty years as shown in Lord Curzon's Minute on this subject. The Viceroy truly says that the existing system of education "seeks to satisfy the aspirations of students in the domains of learning and research; it supplies the Government with a succession of upright and intelligent public servants; it trains workers in every branch of commercial enterprise that has made good its footing in India; it attempts to develop the resources of the country and to stimulate and improve indigenous arts and industries." Although Lord Curzon does not state in so many words that the system has for its object the training of the Indian people for popular self-government, it is difficult to see wherein it fails in this respect. And as a matter of fact, the Hindoos are more and more admitted to a share in the government, and the number of native officials in proportion to the English is, I believe, far greater than that of the Filipinos to the Americans.

There is a fundamental contrast between the two educational policies to which the Secretary does not allude. In the Philippines "the teaching is all in English," in both the primary and secondary schools. The English language is put first among the subjects taught, and "the only texts used are English texts." In primary education in India, "English has no place, and should have no place," are the Viceroy's emphatic words—not because the speaking of English will be a help to independence, but because the teaching of a foreign language to children under thirteen in order to instruct them in that language, would be wasting precious time and stunting their mental growth. The outcome of the American system, if it is maintained, unless all human experience fails, will be, not a people fit for self-government, but simply a Malayan species of Baboos.

I will add that the Secretary's only reason for making all the instruction in English is the fact that there are twelve dialects, and in order to have "a reasonable, intelligent public opinion" "the people must be educated to think alike and in a common language to express the thoughts that they have on the subject of good government." It would be pretty hard to say

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how many generations it would take to bring this about in the English language, if it were conceivably possible.

JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD.

BOSTON, October 12, 1904.

GOETHE AND SECRETARY TAFT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Secretary Taft, in his rôle of defender of extravagance in public expenditures, challenges comparison with another Minister of War, to whose achievements in that capacity a recent biographer pays enthusiastic tribute. It is true, the country is Weimar, and the time more than a hundred years ago; but the Minister is Goethe, and if extravagance is a good thing *per se*, it ought to be good at all times and in all places. Let us hear what Bielschowsky, in his most interesting life of Goethe, just completed, says of his management of the two departments of finance and war:

"Kalb had administered the 'Chamber,' that is to say, the department of finance, very poorly. The Duke therefore dismissed him from office, in June, 1782, and entrusted Goethe with its management, provisionally, as both thought, but for many years as it turned out. This complicated task was all the more difficult because Goethe found the office in a state of confusion. He soon felt how great a burden he had imposed upon himself. Most conscientious as he was, he realized the full gravity of his undertaking. As President of the Chamber he was the very head of the administration, and among his many serious problems the most serious was his struggle with the Duke. The Duke was no spendthrift, but a generous prince, who spent freely, enjoyed playing the host, and would not be bound by the limits of his private revenues in his expenditures for the chase and his travels. He therefore spent usually more than his income, and the Chamber had to provide for the deficit. Goethe put a stop to such extravagance. When he noticed, after the lapse of half a year, that Bertuch, the private secretary of the Duke, had spent more than he was entitled to during that time, he stopped all further payments, and told him very bluntly that he would have to manage differently during the rest of the year. 'I must have order, or I shall resign.' He achieved his object, and with considerable satisfaction he wrote to Knebel towards the close of April, 1783: 'My management of the finances has been more satisfactory than I thought possible a year ago. I am lucky and successful in my administration, but then I adhere firmly to my plans and my principles.'"

So much for Goethe as financier. He was equally successful in his management of the War Office:

"He found the department of war in the utmost confusion. The officials were neglectful, the routine of business disorganized, accounts and documents thrown together pell-mell. But he was not discouraged. . . . And after two years and a half not only was his department in the best of order, but the corps of officials was reorganized and so thoroughly trained that everything ran smoothly; and in spite of the Duke's military crotchets (*Makaronis*) Goethe succeeded in reducing the army of Weimar by half—that is to say, from 600 to 310 men."

GUSTAV POLLAK.

NEW YORK, October 14, 1904.

CHAUCER AND THE BIBLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is one curious instance of the freedom with which Chaucer appropriated to his own use all that he found in his reading, which has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed by the commentators. At line 282 of the B version of 'The Legend of Good Women' we read:

"Behind this god of love, upon the grene,
I saugh cominge of ladyes nyntene
In real habit, a ful esy paas;
And after hem com of women swich a traas,
That, sin that god Adam had maad of erthe,
The thridde part of mankynd, or the ferthe,
Ne wende I nat by possibilitee,
Had ever in this wyde worlde ybe;
And trewe of love thise women were echoon.
Now whether was that a wonder thing or noon,
That right anoon as that they gonne espye
This flour, which that I clepe the dayesye,
Ful sodeinly they stinten alle at ones,
And kneled doun, as it were for the nones,
And songen with o vois, 'Hele and honour
To trouthe of womanhede, and to this flour
That berth our alder prys in figuringe!
Hir whyte coroun berth the witnessinge!'"

Apparently this was suggested by the vision described in the seventh chapter of the Revelation of St. John. There we have first a definite number, "an hundred and forty and four thousand," followed by "a great multitude which no man could number" of those "which came out of great tribulation." The whole company worships the Lamb, and cries with a loud voice: "Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne." The word "hele" of Chaucer is a very fair rendering of the Latin "salus," which stands in the Vulgate text of this passage. A closer parallel to the words of the hymn sung by Chaucer's good women, however, is found in Revelation xix. 1: "Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power unto the Lord our God."

That Chaucer was familiar with this passage of the Revelation may be proved, if proof be necessary, by the fact that in the Man of Law's tale of Constance, itself the legend of a good woman, he quotes directly from Revelation vii. 3:

"Who bad the foure spirits of tempest
That power han t'anoyen land and see,
'Bothe north and south, and also west and est,
Anoyeth neither see, ne land, ne tree?'"

Respectfully, ROBERT K. ROOT.

YALE UNIVERSITY, October 12, 1904.

Notes.

Dana Estes & Co., Boston, will be the American publishers of Prof. Leo Wiener's translation of Tolstoy's Complete Works in conjunction with Messrs. Dent, London, and conformably to their Balzac. Besides a biography, Professor Wiener furnishes an alphabetical "thought-concordance," more than 100 pages long, to the contents of the twenty-four volumes. There will be 150 full-page illustrations. Many of the pieces have hitherto never been rendered into English.

The Saalfield Publishing Co., Akron, O., have in preparation twelve volumes of "useful, curious, and entertaining literature pertaining to the medical profession," and to be offered them with the coating of "The Doctor's Recreation Series." Mr. Charles Wells Moulton will be editor-in-chief.

Prof. Angelo De Gubernatis, who in 1901 produced a 'Dictionnaire International des Écrivains du Jour,' useful but not impeccable, has in preparation an International Lexicon of Contemporaneous Authors of the Latin Peoples. It is to contain, also, in an appendix, the names of all authors of non-Latin nations who have done independent work in the history, literature, and art of the Latin peoples. Gubernatis addresses an appeal for material to all the friends of his new venture. The Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung* expresses the hope that the Roman littérateur will do more thorough work than heretofore.

Next year three centuries will have elapsed since the appearance of the first part of 'Don Quixote,' and the Spaniards have decided to commemorate this anniversary on a rather grand scale by the publication (1) of a cheap popular edition of 'Don Quixote' by the Spanish Academy; (2) of an abridged edition for study in secondary schools; (3) of a still more condensed edition for the common schools; by a contest, with special awards by the Academy, for the best critical editions of a number of the minor works of Cervantes; by the production of several of Cervantes's plays in the Teatro Español; by the restoration of the chapter of the Church of St. Mary in Alcala, where Cervantes was baptized, and the establishment of a Cervantes museum in Alcala; by the establishment of a Cervantes Institute by Spanish literary and art societies to serve as a refuge for superannuated needy writers and artists; and by university festivities in honor of the poet. The President of the Spanish Ministry is chairman of the arrangement committee.

In his 'Essays of Lamb' (Ginn & Co.), Prof. G. A. Wauchope of South Carolina College has industriously edited selections from 'Elia,' 'The Last Essays,' and 'Critical Essays,' that will be useful for classroom purposes. Had the editor availed himself of Lucas's admirable labors he might have made his annotations more illuminative with less exertion. However, in his Library References there is no sign that either the Lucas or the Macdonald edition of Lamb has reached Columbia, S. C. Perhaps this staggers one less than to read: "It is not exaggeration to say that in [Lamb] English prose style reached its climax, and this view is now generally accepted" (Introduction, p. xxvii.).

A second edition of T. J. Lawrence's 'War and Neutrality in the Far East' has appeared within three months of the publication of the first, which was noticed at length in these columns (Macmillan). The book has been considerably enlarged, and its added pages now discuss the very interesting questions raised during the past summer. These are, chiefly, the taking of mail-bags from the *Prinz Heinrich* and their transfer to the *Persia*; the case of the vessels of the Russian volunteer fleet which got out of the Dardanelles as commercial vessels and immediately changed themselves into ships of war and began to stop neutrals; the cases of the *Allanton* and *Knight Commander*. What Mr. Lawrence has to say about the *Allanton* takes the form of a scathing review of the judgment of the Vladivostok prize court. He insists that the decision itself involves a glaring violation of international law, and especially of the rule that the penalty for carrying contraband ends with the voyage. Of the various pretensions as to contraband put forward by Russia since the war began, the author says that they amount, when taken together, "to little less than a prohibition of all sea-borne trade, export as well as import, between her enemy and neutral Powers." But these extreme pretensions have been accompanied by an equally remarkable willingness to waive them under diplomatic pressure; in the case

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of the *Knight Commander*, a neutral prize was sunk by the captor, apparently without excuse, while the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs declares that "the language of the Russian Government justifies us in hoping that these acts of destruction of neutral prizes are not likely to be repeated."

Wolf von Schierbrand's 'Germany, the Welding of a World Power' (Doubleday, Page & Co.), portions of which have appeared in various magazines, is a compilation such as would be expected from an industrious and experienced newspaper writer. The author has well employed his opportunities for becoming familiar with German conditions, and has produced a book full of useful information, most of which is, in the main, accurate. Its value from a literary point of view, however, is impaired by its style, which follows the most pronounced American newspaper models. The sub-title of the book indicates that its author's training as a writer of English consisted in equipping him with the vocabulary in which a detective is spoken of as a "sleuth" and a fast steamship as an "ocean greyhound." He actually uses these and similar expressions.

Mr. Bradford Torrey discourses pleasantly in his 'Nature's Invitation' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) of what he has seen on his walks in regions as widely separated as New Hampshire and Arizona. No bird seems to escape his observation, and his acquaintance with these fellow-creatures is of prodigious extent. Of the flora he has less to say, but most of us would do well to listen to his casual utterances. Upon one point Mr. Torrey is justly resolute: Nature's invitations are to be accepted only with the qualification "weather permitting." "When a man sets forth on an out-of-door pleasure jaunt, his prayer is for weather. . . . In the mountains, if nowhere else, weather is three-fifths of life." The book is slight enough; but no one can read in it without getting some hint that will make his rambles more profitable.

The guides of the northern lakes and woods form a perennial source of material for the journalist and book-maker, but the quality of the result depends altogether upon the sympathetic insight of the writer. A Van Dyke can get at the best that is in these men of the woods, interpret their essetial qualities of heart and mind to almost any class of readers, and still leave them possible human beings. Mr. H. S. Canfield, the author of 'Fergy the Guide, and his Moral and Instructive Lies about Beasts, Birds, and Fishes' (Henry Holt & Co.), has not tried to be a Van Dyke. Sinking contentedly below the higher levels of humor, he allows his protagonist to pour forth some three hundred and fifty pages of such frankly impossible yarns as one may hear in a corner-grocery crowd of uneducated smart boys. It would require the tucking in of a large amount of genuine wit and philosophy to save such a book, but the real wit and philosophy are not very striking features of the compound, in the present case. One finds not infrequent suggestions of the influence of Charles W. Chesnutt's 'Cunjer Woman,' but "Fergy" is far below the measure of old Julius as an entertaining liar. Any one of the separate chapters might pass muster in the Sunday supplement of a modern daily newspaper, but *in extenso* no garrulous barber could be more tiresome than "Fergy."

A handy little 'Synopses of Dickens's Novels' has been made by J. Walker McSpadden on the lines of his 'Shaksperian Synopses,' and comes to us from T. Y. Crowell & Co. There is first a chronological conspectus, with some bibliographical details, of the novelist's productions; a summary of each novel, preceded by the same details amplified, a statement of the scene, and a cast of characters. The volume closes with an index to characters, with reference simply to the novel. All this may be praised, but Mr. McSpadden should not say that "no list of his [Dickens's] characters . . . has been available." We have at our elbow the volume of the Globe Edition of Dickens issued in 1869, by Hurd & Houghton, containing besides 'The Uncommercial Traveller' and 'Master Humphrey's Clock' a "General [Descriptive] Index of Characters *and of their Appearances*," with precise references. Moreover, it is much fuller than Mr. McSpadden's, whose index begins with Akerman. The other gives "Adams, head boy at Doctor Strong's, with a turn for mathematics, *David Copperfield*, ii., 24, 38, 45, 77-78, 81," and three others similarly particularized. This is followed by an "Index of Fictitious Places, Popular Sayings, etc." The edition we suppose to be out of print, but Pierce's 'Dickens Dictionary,' to be had of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., is the more thorough work of which Mr. McSpadden may well say "Pereat qui ante nos."

There has come to hand the first (October) number of a periodical of large quarto size, entitled "*Kind und Kunst:* Monatsschrift für die Pflege der Kunst im Leben des Kindes." It is published by Alexander Koch at Darmstadt, and number one has, bound in, a title-page for the whole annual volume (October, 1904, to September, 1905), and also an ornamental preliminary title-page with an elaborate pictorial display. Examination shows that the editors will address themselves to mothers and governesses and teachers of young children; and to help them in their task there is also a children's department, a "Kinderwelt," with (in this number) a fairy story which is apparently original and new, and certain very clever verses to read at the baby's bedside. Other departments show how drawings can be made, by the teacher or by the child, or both, some of these being silhouettes. Then there are photographs of rational toys, with the maker's name attached, and a great number of photographs having no connection with one another and without explanatory text—evidently specimens merely of snapshots of children with lambs, with picture books, and perched in trees, taken by the amateur photographer.

In the *Revue de Paris* for September 15 appears the second part of Ibsen's letters to Georg Brandes. These fifteen letters cover a quarter of a century, 1873-1897. Ibsen is not a good correspondent. When he is engaged on a play, he writes no letters and reads no books. Every alternate December during the above period he was producing a new drama, but even to Brandes he could not write freely about the work into which he was putting all his energies. These letters will be of no use to his literary biographer. The translator, Mme. Rémusat, is actually uncertain, as she shows by her question marks, what the plays are to which Ibsen now and then makes a grudging allusion. In 1873 Brandes had sent Ibsen his translation of John Stuart Mill. Ibsen thought Mill both pedantic and unscientific, and could not understand his friend's interest in an author who reminded one of Cicero and Seneca. Later on, Brandes settled in Copenhagen, and with his brother founded a review, the *Nineteenth Century*. Ibsen, always hostile to the cantonal idea and an ardent apostle of the Scandinavian spirit, could not sympathize with his friend's Danish "exclusivisme"; but in the end he wrote for the review a series of rhymed letters on the intellectual tendencies of the day. Rarely does Ibsen declare his principles in a letter. "La minorité a toujours raison," he wrote in 1882, when a very small minority tolerated his "Ghosts." When the last letter was written, in 1896, Ibsen was planning to settle himself on the coast, between Copenhagen and Elsinore, "dans un endroit découvert d'où je puisse apercevoir les grands bateaux venant de loin ou s'en allant au loin." For he found that in Christiania "tous les chemins sont fermés, toutes les voies sont barrées à la communication de la pensée. . . . Ici, près des fjords, est ma terre natale, mais . . . mais . . , où est ma patrie?"

Dr. Emil Schlagintweit contributes to *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number five, an interesting account of Tibet and the leading facts of its recent history. Other articles are a summary of the meteorological results of the observations of the Swedish Antarctic expedition under the leadership of Dr. O. Nordenskjöld, and a continuation of the descriptions of the geology of Kamtchatka and the Argentine province of Buenos Aires. The principal contents of number six are Dr. H. Steffen's account of the Baker-Fiord in west Patagonia, and the narrative of a recent journey through Shantung and Kiang-su, by Walter Anz, While, in this latter province, Herr Anz found the ways infested with robbers, and every one went armed, in the other the multitude and activity of the men building a railway made him almost forget that he was in China.

The bibliography of the geographical literature of 1903, published as the extra September issue of the *Annales de Géographie*, is now a substantial octavo volume of 320 pages. The number of entries, 997, does not accurately represent the extent of the work, for under one title several publications are often catalogued. Under number 595, for instance, are displayed eight titles of books or scientific papers by Sven Hedin. The descriptive and analytic notes to the great majority of the entries by the editor, M. L. Raveneau, and his fifty-four collaborators give the work exceptional value for reference. Among the subjects of growing interest and importance, as shown by the number of publications, is colonization. Under this head one may get an excellent idea of what is being done by the different countries to develop their colonial possessions. The index of authors contains more than 2,000 names.

Some time ago the City Library of Cologne issued a pamphlet written by its director, Dr. Adolf Keysser, and entitled 'Die Oeffentlichen Bibliotheken und die Schöne Literatur.' The special reason for

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its publication was to enlist booklovers and authors in the Rhine province in behalf of the collection of Rhineland literature, which for years has been this library's specialty; but it is also of general interest, as indicating the view which the "scientific" librarian in Germany takes of the "modern" library movement. "If the large public libraries," the author says, "are to satisfy all literary needs, they have an extensive, many-sided task before them. They are to serve not only research, but also the distribution of the results of research, for the enlightenment of the multitude and for the promotion of political and professional education; they are, finally, to assist the spread of ethical and æsthetic culture, as far as this can be gained through the study of literature." The author makes a plea for collecting everything produced by writers of a given territory and everything relating to the territory, in poetry and fiction, as well as in other branches of literature.

The new Catalogue (of non-fiction) which the Trenton Free Public Library has sent out contains an announcement that deserves to be widely imitated. It is provided that "the number of non-fiction works that may be drawn on an individual card is determined largely by the needs of the reader and the character of the works requested for home use." This is a most liberal and farsighted policy, and should tend to stimulate serious reading among the users of the library. The note following this statement—"Special privileges on application"—shows that the trustees and librarian of this institution mean that it shall really serve *all* the people.

The Presidential address of Dr. Percival, the Bishop of Hereford, before the Educational Science Section of the British Association, being largely drawn from his personal experience as head master of Clifton and Rugby, and president of Trinity, Oxford, contains much that is of general interest, though his main theme is the defects of the English system. Among the prominent causes of these defects are the general lack of interest in education, the excessive influence of tradition, and the want of systematic training of teachers. Treating of elementary education, he characterizes the petition of 14,718 medical practitioners for the introduction of simple hygienic teaching, including instruction on the nature and effects of alcohol, as "one of the most important educational documents" of the time. The ignorance of the lower classes as to the primary laws of health, and the fashionable cult of athleticism by the middle and upper classes, have this significant result: "at one end of the scale, neglect of the rudiments of sanitation, the loss of the *corpus sanum*; at the other end, the idol worship of athleticism, the depreciation of the intellectual life, and the loss of the *mens sana*."

Of the dead who have made their mark, we have space only now and again to speak fittingly. The youth of promise must needs fare still worse. Such a one, Mr. Trumbull Stickney, instructor in Greek at Harvard, passed away on October 11, leaving a great void in the thoughts and feelings of his intimates. Our readers know something of his scholarly work performed in Paris while earning his degree of *docteur ès lettres*, and may recall two letters of his to the *Nation* from France in Nos. 1951 and 1956. Mr. Stickney's literary, like his linguistic, talent was brilliant and gave much to expect in maturity. His person and his character were alike charming.

—Among the first grants made by the Carnegie Institution was that for a 'Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington.' The volume was prepared by Mr. C. H. Van Tyne and W. G. Leland, and has now been published under the direction of Professor McLaughlin of the Bureau of Historical Research. Each department and its various bureaus were examined, and the result shows that a surprising quantity of historical material has been stored in various places, under different rules of management, and, it must be confessed, with great ignorance of its value and relation to like material elsewhere. Not only the purely Executive records have been surveyed, but the historical collections of manuscripts that have been purchased or received by gift from time to time and, for want of a central depository, have been placed wherever space could be found. Naturally, the knowledge to use these papers was not available, and in some cases they have received little or no attention from the busy officials in whose keeping they were. For the first time some information is obtainable regarding the size and nature of the collections, their location and the rules governing their use by students or investigators. The survey has been well done, and in arrangement could hardly be improved. A full index and bibliography increase its utility as a work of reference.

—As the more important of the collections of historical manuscripts have been transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress since the preparation of this guide, the Library and the War Department are the two great depositories of such materials. There is, however, a great difference in the use made by the two of their stores. The War Department has much that is properly historical—like the Confederate Records and what was captured during the civil war. The student is not only forbidden access to them, under the plea of want of space, but the officials of the Department do not know what they have in the boxes, files, and vaults of manuscripts in its charge. This situation is fully described by Mr. Leland, who, in default of access to the collections, was obliged to depend upon the few references in printed reports. The Library of Congress, on the other hand, is open to all, and, under its capable head, it is utilizing its immense material for the benefit of the public. Its newspaper collection is bound and indexed; its manuscripts are rapidly being calendared and listed, and its books are well classified and catalogued. There is every reason why the historical material from other departments should be placed in its keeping, and this policy is emphasized by the results of the examination made by Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland. A similar guide to State records is preparing under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

—This year's conference of the American Library Association being international in scope, the editor of *Public Libraries* conceived the happy idea of making the October number of that journal an international number. It consists of articles describing mainly the modern free public library movement which has spread over Europe during the last ten years, largely as an outcome of the acquaintance which European visitors gained with American libraries during the Chicago World's Fair. This is especially true of Germany, and the movement in that empire is most fittingly described by the man who has been chiefly instrumental in bringing it about, Dr. Constantin Nörrenberg, city librarian of Düsseldorf. Among the other countries represented are Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Japan. The article on "Modern British Libraries" is by the late Miss M. S. R. James, for many years librarian of the People's Palace in London; afterwards, and until her recent death, connected with the Library Bureau in Boston. In addition to this paper, which describes recent developments, both in the British Islands and in the Empire, there are special papers on libraries in South Africa and New South Wales, and on "Public Libraries in London." Of timely interest is a paper on the "Honolulu Library and Reading-Room Association." A. A. Granfelt writes of the "Popular Libraries of Finland" in a way to arouse the greatest sympathy with this struggling people; pathetic is his description of the ups and downs of a small parish library. Among the American contributions we note the introductory article by Mr. Dewey, who briefly reiterates the well-known data of the library movement in this country since 1876.

—Simultaneously with the Peace Conference in Boston, the American Unitarian Association publishes in six volumes a new edition of Dr. Channing's Writings. The time is fit, for it was in Dr. Channing's study that the first American Peace Society was organized, and no aspect of his works has more immediate interest than that which is turned towards war with a fixed intensity of opposition. Externally the edition is very attractive, and the letterpress surprisingly so, considering that the plates are those of the six-volume edition of 1841-43. The change from a duodecimo to an octavo page has an agreeable effect. Mr. Chadwick's introduction is an elaborate condensation, in thirty-eight pages, of his 'William Ellery Channing,' published a year since, with little verbal reminiscence. It aims to trace the lines of Channing's growth up to the time of his earlier publications, and to relate his writings to his personal history and the times in which he lived. There is less emphasis, as there should be, on Channing's theological than on his philanthropic and social activity, with special emphasis on his anti-slavery work. His relations with Garrison are described as "a mystery that defies solution." Of his social aspirations we read: "It is not extravagant to hope that, on the social plane, the progress of society for a long time to come will be the progressive embodiment of his spirit and the progressive realization of his particular ideas, hopes and plans." It is the confirmation of this view afforded by these writings that amply justifies their republication, and makes them deserving of the attention of all who are engaged in sociological studies or in philanthropic work. The openness of Channing's mind and the breadth of his religious sympathy have many striking illus-

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trations, and they have never been excelled.

—In comparison with the abundance and quality of the other exhibits from Japan, at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis, that of the Educational Department is rather disappointing. It emphasizes the fact that, from the grand conception of 1870, the trend has been away from culture and the humanities to technical and industrial training. Of the eight universities planned, but two are founded, and only one is fully worthy of its name, but in the useful arts and sciences the development has been enormous, and the exhibits—from Dr. Kitasato's bacteriological section to that of meteorology or penology—are very creditable. The Department of Education has issued, in connection with its display in St. Louis, a volume of more than five hundred pages in nine parts, treating of primary, secondary, superior, art and technical education, and that also for the blind, deaf and dumb; of libraries, museums, educational societies, and textbooks; and of education in the Hokkaido (Yezo, etc.) and Formosa. It is not consecutively paged, but is rather a bundle of pamphlet reports, is liberally illustrated in half-tones, which show the outdoor and indoor life of the pupils from kindergarten to university, and give one a vivid idea of the progress made in school equipment and comfort. The sitting of five million youths daily on chairs, instead of on their own doubled-up legs on floor matting, with richer diet and regular exercise, must, after a century or so, show an increase in stature of the entire nation, as has already occurred in the army and navy. One of the most encouraging features of the whole situation is the powerful influence exerted on the Mom Bu Sho by intelligent men and women interested in educational art and science, who, by means of the societies and publications, keep the Department and its methods and general policy out of partisan politics. The increase and appreciation of educational facilities in Formosa and Yezo for the races other than Japanese, as well as for the unfortunate in the empire at large, are hopeful facts here shown in detail.

—All Mexico has been thrown into a turmoil—withal, a tempest in a teapot—by the publication of a book attacking Benito Juarez, whom the Liberals—or, in effect, the Government, Federal and State—are scrupulous about calling the *Benemérito de las Americas* (Well-deserving of the Americas), always in extra large and heavy capitals. This book was written by a so-called Liberal, a man who has for some years sat in the Federal Congress; but it was hailed with acclamations by the clerical press, which has been keen in its revival of past rancors, and it has thrown the Liberal party into paroxysms. The author of 'The True Juarez' is Francisco Bulnes, an engineer by profession, but for some years chiefly noted as perhaps the first orator in the country. Pure Latin in style, this book purports to be a critical review of the acts of Juarez, especially in connection with the French intervention. To some extent it is so, though the author has considerably misused the patterns of historical writing which he set before himself; probabilities, and even surmises, grow into absolute facts, and constant use is made of insinuations having scant bases of authority, so far at least as revealed. His diatribe, as it may fairly be called, is as far removed as possible from scientific reasoning and impartial criticism.

—The notable thing in the discussion he has provoked is that little attention has been paid to the contents of his work. Here and there, some one has challenged its assertions about Juarez's private life, or its accuracy as to his relations with his own followers, with the French and English ministers, and with the United States. But generally the first object of the excited Liberals who have rushed into the fray seems to have been to heap epithets on Bulnes, the second to proclaim Juarez a man too sanctified in patriotism to admit of criticism—a god on a pedestal, not a man. It is doubtful if the majority of these critics, in the press and at mass meetings, have yet read the cause of their commotion. One looks almost in vain in the Mexican press for an intelligent criticism of the book. Two mass meetings were held in the capital, one showing a disposition to mob the traducer; also shortly thereafter a mass meeting of students of the Government's law and other schools. Meanwhile, Congressman Benito Juarez had been considering what was incumbent upon him to do to "vindicate the honor" of his father. He finally referred the question to a "committee of honor" (the designation is rather significant), composed of prominent Liberals. After a long and grave deliberation in the house of one of them, they informed the younger Juarez that he ought to leave the defence of his father's honor in the hands of the Liberal party, and he issued a pronunciamiento to the public, in which he agreed to do so, stifling his sentiments of relationship, as he virtually stated. Five books in refutation of Bulnes were then announced as in preparation, and two have already appeared.

—The movement to introduce an intellectual reform among the Parsis of Bombay has lately culminated in the formation of a society called "The Gātha Society," the first meeting of which took place on the 10th of September of last year at the Framji Cawasji Institute, Bombay, with the Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, in the chair. Upon that occasion a lecture was read by the Vice-President of the society, Mr. J. C. Coyajee, late Senior Fellow of Elphinstone College, upon "The Spirit of the Gāthas," and this, after having appeared in the *Oriental Review* for October, 1903, has been reprinted in the form of a pamphlet, and is now republished as the first number of the Society's publications. An interesting quarterly review, animated by the same spirit and aims, has meantime appeared. It is called the *Zartoshti*, and is bilingual in Gujrati and English. Its first numbers show a thorough spirit of criticism and are very practical. For instance, the Ahuna Vairya prayer, a greatly revered fragment, is treated, together with all the various modern translations of it. One of the editors, the Rev. Manockji N. Dhāllā, a Parsi priest of character and distinction, proposes to pass two years in Oxford for the purpose of perfecting himself in the higher criticism of his subject. That he is to be supported during his stay there by a few wealthy Parsi gentlemen of Bombay adds some interest to the circumstance.

WALTER PATER.

Walter Pater. By Ferris Greenslet. (Contemporary Men of Letters.) McClure, Phillips & Co.

For a biographer, Mr. Greenslet has chosen an infelicitous motto, but, by dint of paying no attention to it, he has produced a memoir at once sympathetic, discriminating, and acceptable. The chronicle of a hidden and dateless kind of life demands the skill of the poet or the novelist rather than of the historian, or else that very delicate and subtle art which is shown at its highest in Pater's own 'Marius,' in his 'Emerald Uthwart,' or 'The Child in the House.' These, together with some of the essays and 'The Imaginary Portraits,' constitute the true sources for his biography—for the history of his personality and his spiritual growth. Mr. Greenslet, therefore, depends mainly on such authorities, and furnishes in addition a few facts and dates as the framework of his judicious appreciation. These serve to place Pater in his environment, and to account to some extent for the development of a growth so unusual and exquisite.

Pater came of a family of Dutch extraction, settled in England in the eighteenth century, in which the custom had prevailed for generations to bring up the boys as Catholics and the girls as members of the Anglican Church. His father, a well-to-do physician, was the first of the family to break away from this tradition and to quit the Church of Rome without adopting any other form of faith. But the infant son, quite evidently, was reared under the traditional family influences, in that refined and secluded household which is pictured in the sketch entitled 'The Child in the House.' The house was in Enfield, a quiet suburb four leagues from London. At the age of fourteen, a slow, serious boy and a dreamer, he was sent to King's School at Canterbury, which probably furnished the setting and environment of his 'Emerald Uthwart.' Thence he passed to Queen's College, Oxford, where he devotes himself especially to philosophical studies, and trains his pen carefully by daily translations from Sainte-Beuve and Flaubert, or by poetic versions from Goethe, from Alfred de Musset, and from the Greek Anthology. He comes strongly under the influence of Ruskin and of Goethe; and the mark of the latter certainly was ineffaceable. From the year of his graduation (1862) to 1886, he remains closely connected with Oxford, as tutor and subsequently as University Fellow. He varies his residence by an occasional visit to Italy, or by travels on the Continent. Apparently he never visited Greece, though his sketch of Attic scenery in the 'Hippolytus Unveiled' is absolutely unsurpassed for vividness and perfect appreciation of tone, atmosphere, and color. It is a little curious that, with all his grasp of Germanic and Romance literature, he never was able to speak with ease any language but his own.

While living at Oxford as a University Fellow, his intimate friends were such men as T. H. Green, Professor Nettleship, Principal Caird, and Swinburne. He is described as shy and reserved—at times, to the verge of rudeness; and yet compan-

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ionable with his intimates and a favorite with the students. In these he took a deep and conscientious interest, spending his time and thought freely on them and offering them frequent hospitality. His rooms were arranged with taste, but without luxury. His life, well ordered and simple, exemplified the noble austerity of his philosophic creed. His habits of composition were slow and painstaking—painful, indeed, with travail of spirit and many revisions. His style reveals too clearly, at times, in its tortuosities, the traces of these struggles.

Between his studies in philosophy and the width of his tastes and sympathies, he swayed, naturally, and veered in his religious views. While still an undergraduate at Oxford, he thought of becoming a Universalist clergyman. Notwithstanding the extreme skepticism—the paganism, even—of his essay on Winckelmann, he had, as might be expected, a sympathy with the æsthetic charm of the rites of the Catholic Church. As he grew older, he became more conservative; and some of his friends think that had he lived he might have ended his days in the quiet fold of some country living. His rationalism, in fact, advanced definitely toward a Christian mode of thought. The attitude of cocksure skepticism which would pronounce the Christian scheme absolutely false, he regarded as unphilosophic in its positiveness. He preferred, as he says, "to open wide the door of love and hope"—to trust himself to the raft of faith, and to risk the voyage of life in company with "many worthy priests and with millions of good Christians, who will always on such grounds continue to form the nucleus of a church." This attitude was never better expressed than in his review of 'Robert Elsmere.'

Though he grew up in the very storm and stress of the movement of modern science, it is remarkable how absolutely this whole province was alien to Pater's mind and tastes. He admits its pursuits, it is true, among the classes of activities which are open to his ideal Cyrenaic. But, apart from this casual allusion, there is nothing in his writings or in his biography to intimate that he knew anything or cared anything about its methods, its discoveries, or its advances. Not only was he, to all appearance, indifferent to its beneficent utilities—to the angelic ministrations, for instance, of medicine and surgery—but he has not a word or thought for that splendid sweep of intellect, of insight, and imagination, that genuine divination, by which the physicist, using the most powerful instruments of mathematics, penetrates the secrets of nature, calculates the ultimate constitution of the molecule and the atom, and makes the dreams of the alchemist something like a reality. This realm of thought did not appeal in the slightest to his imagination. Either he was ignorant of it or he ignored it. Yet, just so far as he left it outside of his ken and sympathy, he fell short of the example and the practice of his many-sided master, Goethe. Goethe was himself a physical investigator of genius. Pater was as indifferent to physical science as Darwin was to the humanities. And in this deliberate indifference and aloofness there was for him, it must be admitted, a certain instinctive propriety. The most recondite analysis of an atom or a sun, aided by the most powerful calculus, seems to have no relation whatever to the secrets of the human mind and heart. The late Lord Salisbury doubtless enjoyed the diversion afforded by his chemical laboratory; but he never got a hint from it as to the noble art and craft of statesmanship. The biologist and the pyschologist, with all their apparatus and experiments, have hardly brought a ray of light to the workshop and the processes of a Shakspere or a Balzac. Much less can the study of the physical sciences, which we now style "practical," contribute one jot toward the knowledge or the management of men.

Pater's talent for analysis is to be seen everywhere—in the 'Appreciations,' and especially in the 'Imaginary Portraits.' He has a fancy, like Hawthorne, for dissecting and reconstructing the movements and traits of a somewhat bizarre and complex nature—such as his Denys L'Auxerrois, or the Apollo in Picardy—fantastic creations, both of which he built, or rather blew like bubbles, out of a hint furnished by Heine. But no neater or stranger specimen of his gift can be cited than his portrait of Sebastian Van Storck—the solitary and reserved aristocrat, frozen on the peaks of his own cold and high aspirations, who, becoming enamoured of the philosophy of Spinoza, rejects human love, spurns fastidiously the cosy nest of domestic affection to which poor Mademoiselle Van Westrheene would beckon him, and pursues the ideal of a calm intellectual indifference, "of which he was the sworn chevalier." A touch of human frailty, a relenting ray of sunset, warms this strange figure, as he retires for meditation to a desolate tower upon the sands, where in the midst of a great inundation he loses his life in saving that of a little child. From such a portrait, doubtless, there look out upon us some stray lineaments of Pater's own character and experiences.

Great as was his gift, however, in this direction, he was first and foremost an artist by temperament—that was the basis of his endowment. He looked at life and the world through the artist's eyes. That temperament colored and informed even his philosophy. Every one of those notes which are so conspicuous in 'The Child in the House' is echoed and prolonged in the 'Marius'; the same characteristic *motifs* recur and are expanded in this mature work, which describes a pilgrimage of the same spirit through the distant lands of antiquity—distant, indeed, in time, but hardly foreign to his trained and scholarly imagination. His own soul had already made all the wanderings of Marius; his peculiar qualities, his personal views, are reflected in many of these chapters.

The step which Marius makes from a strict and fastidious Epicureanism to the earliest pattern of Christianity is not so very long, and the way is not unintelligible. Pater's own definition and conception of the system of philosophy which might end in such a goal, is worth a few words of exposition, because Pater really lived by it and is explained by it, and because the standard of life which it presents is perfectly rational and intelligible. To catch the flying moment; to pack it full of sensation, of intellectual activity, of choice and varied experience—even of noble pain or sorrow, or affections that may imply sorrow as well as pleasure; to adorn life and make existence a kind of beautiful order and music; to live days that are "lovely and pleasant"—this was the ideal which he thought might become an "inward mystic piety," a kind of religion. The intrinsic beauty and value of such a life is secure, whatever may be the past or the future, the origin of our being, or our destiny to come. These noble energies might embrace the pleasures and the pursuit of art and of science, of religious enthusiasm or political activity, of taste and curiosity which satisfies itself by its own activity—the life even of a Seneca or an Epictetus; in short, whatever of human life may be heroic, impassioned, ideal. So far may it lie from the gluttony and Epicurism of Dante's Ciacco that it may be summed up in the formula, "My meat is to do what is just and kind."

No ethical scheme is necessarily contemplated in this ideal. As Pater expressed it originally in his appendix to 'The Renaissance,' it might issue in the sort of existence which Tennyson has pictured in "The Palace of Art." Lest it might prove a stumbling-block to his young friends, he withdrew his earlier statement of doctrine, and finally remodelled it in an austere form, intruding into his scheme a real morality. It must embrace the artistic conscience—the aim at perfection. Its pleasures must be noble, must not be cruel. It must eschew indolence; it must make the utmost of the "here and now." Expressed in these terms, his doctrine has its own truth, its necessity and its compulsion. So comprehensive, in fact, is this latest revision of Pater's Cyrenaicism that if we were to search for a type which fits it thoroughly we could hardly do better than fix upon the late Mr. Gladstone. "The Grand Old Man" himself would have resented the classification, and would have scorned to be numbered with such company; but a glance at his own journal will justify our statement. He was, of course, first and foremost what we call a "man of action"—that was his mission. He used all the power of his genius for moral and religious purposes. He was occupied greatly, as he himself says, "in working the institutions of his country." When we hear of his filling his day with a Cabinet meeting, followed by a committee meeting and a speech in the House—that is what we expect, and it is natural to learn that another day is occupied with snipe-shooting, and a breakfast with Rogers, or Milne, or Wordsworth. But, mixed with these occupations and distractions, and filling every nook and cranny of time, he is reading Cicero, Augustine, Goethe's "Iphigenie"; he is writing an essay on Justification. He closes the day with music, or a "dose of whist," followed by some cantos of the "Purgatorio." This man of action is really solitary, something of a hermit; his inmost companions, his "Doctors," are Aristotle, Augustine, Bishop Butler, Dante. These, and names like these, are the secret springs of his action. Dante above all is his mentor and master, and out of Dante this idealist chooses the "Paradiso." At the same time he is Chancellor of the Exchequer; he retrieves the decaying fortune of the estate at Hawarden; he knows more of the brewer's trade than the brewers know themselves. He works sixteen hours a day, and, as Sir James Graham remarks, he could do in four hours what it would take any other man sixteen to do. This, surely, is a varied activity and intensity of

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experience which makes the most of every pulse-beat; this is to be present "always at the focus and to burn with a gem-like intensity." It fulfils more perfectly than Pater's own life the ideal which he sketched in his famous *envoi* to the volume on "The Renaissance."

Mr. Pater's mission has largely to do with tastes and their cultivation. The late Matthew Arnold used to say that conduct and questions of conduct make up three-quarters of human life. Pater might not claim so much for the domain of taste and culture, though, in a sense, he might claim everything for a method which aims to make noble and fruitful the inner life of man. Yet if it touched a man's pleasures and recreations, only, by way of refining and elevating, it would still deal with a large proportion of every day. The labor-unions are willing to surrender one-third of man's whole span to recreation, to "play." Few of the rest of us can spare so much; but what we can spare might be made precious, packed with high and pure delights, such as Mr. Gladstone used to snatch, such as Pater eloquently preaches. Though it begins at another side of human nature, his preaching finally meets that of the pulpits more than half way, for Pater is much more genuinely of the tribe of Plato than of Aristippus. Even pleasures he takes, so to speak, seriously, austerely: they must be worthy of a rational being, possibly of an immortal being. The scheme and vision which he offers may seem to the Philistines foolishness—the merest and vaguest moonshine; his voice and message faint and alien, preposterously faint; but the more preposterous, perhaps, the deeper the need. His is one of those still small voices that call us back to things beautiful and enduring; it is a faint and distant bell that tolls in some deserted shrine the passing of ideals, or summons to the worship of things forgotten for the moment, but of the essence of man's soul and spirit, and hence imperishable and divine.

SCOTCH CONSTITUTIONALISM.—II.

The Unreformed House of Commons. By Edward Porritt. 2 vols. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan.

The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns. By Robert S. Rait. London: Blackie & Son.

Is it true that from the time of the Union to the passing of the Reform Act (1707-1832) the will of the Scotch people obtained no effective representation in the Parliament at Westminster? To this inquiry the reformers of 1832 gave with no hesitation whatever an affirmative answer:

"'From the Tweed to John O'Groat's, throughout the whole length of that country,' said Brougham, when the Parliamentary Reform Bill for Scotland was before the House of Lords in 1832, 'there is not within the memory of man the knowledge of anything like a popular election. As far back as the records of authentic history go, there never has been anything deserving the name, or even approaching to a popular election, anything like an election for borough or city, anything which would convey to the mind of an Englishman, or a Welshman, or an Irishman, a notion of what an election is.'"

English constitutionalists have for the most part accepted Brougham's rhetoric as representing not only a part but the whole of the truth; nor can any one who examines the system of representation which, created before the Union, continued in existence till 1832, wonder at the belief that it provided the people of Scotland with no means for expressing the will of the Scotch people. Looked at from the point of view of an English Liberal, the system exhibits nearly every defect which could possibly be found in any scheme of parliamentary representation. The number of Scotchmen represented at all was ridiculously small. It is difficult to obtain, even from Mr. Porritt's elaborate treatise, a clear account of the actual number of the Scotch electors, but, from different statements scattered up and down his book, one may infer that the Scotch electorate did not in 1831 consist of more (though it may certainly have consisted of less) than 5,000 persons. Patronage was universal. "In 1816, Edinburgh had its patron, and so had each of the fourteen groups which, with Edinburgh, elceted the fifteen members from the burghs to the House of Commons." The members of the electorate were distributed in the most eccentric manner. In one of the counties, it was said, there were only nine electors. At an election at Bute, only one person attended at the meeting, except the sheriff and the returning officer. This one person took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of the freeholders, answered to his own name, and finally moved and seconded his own nomination, put the question to the vote, and was unanimously returned. The electors in the burghs were not the inhabitants of the town, but members of small and close corporations which were not really elective, but which filled up their own number by coöptation. The electors in the counties were for the most part local landowners, but this was not necessary. A gentleman who had owned land in a county might, by going through the proper legal formalities, part with his land and yet retain his electoral rights.

As was to be expected, the members who represented, or, if you prefer, misrepresented, the limited body of electors, used their position for their own advantage. The forty-five members from Scotland were the constant supporters of the Government of the day. In the time of George III. they added considerably to the power of the Crown. But they did not give their services for nothing. A lord advocate, such as Dundas, managed the Scotch representatives with all the skill of a trained wirepuller. He knew personally every man who could influence a Scotch election; he knew what each supporter's influence was worth, and he paid for it in appointments given to such supporter or to the supporters' friends and adherents. Can any one wonder that, to Whigs denouncing the anomalies of an unreformed Parliament, it naturally seemed that the Scotch representative system was little better than a plan for misrepresenting the will of the Scotch people? Nor in 1830, when the electors of Scotland were for the most part Tories and the mass of Scotchmen who did not constitute part of the electoral body had become Whigs or Radicals, was it unfair to assert that the members for Scotland opposed rather than represented the wishes of the Scotch people; but it must, on the other hand, be remembered that the condition of things in 1830 was exceptional, and that it is by no means clear that, during the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the political sentiment of the people of Scotland differed greatly from the sentiment of the men who, under the strangest of systems, were sent to London to represent a country by the majority of whose inhabitants they were certainly not elected.

A student of constitutions who has realized the difficulty of inferring from a formal analysis of any institution what would be its actual working, will hesitate to accept Brougham's rhetoric or the Whig tradition as a completely true answer to the question we have under consideration. If we want to know whether the wishes of the Scotch people were effectively represented in Parliament, we shall do wisely to put aside any theory we may have formed as to the principle of representative government, and direct our attention to the teaching of history. We shall then find that certainly, in some way or other, the will of the Scotch people did exert a very marked influence on the determination of any question which obviously affected Scotch interests. The forty-five Scotch members undoubtedly gave support to every successive ministry, but then this support did not extend to purely Scotch questions. The Scotch members formed in regard to such questions something like a Scotch Parliament:

"The very unpopularity," writes Lecky, "of Scotchmen drew them together, and in this class of questions they showed themselves singularly shrewd, tenacious, and implacable in their resentments. The admirable habit of conferring together on purely local matters, and adopting a common line of policy before the discussions in Parliament, which has given the Scotch contingent nearly all the weight of a national legislature, was early adopted."

And this "national legislature," while by its combined and vigorous action exerting an influence out of proportion to its numbers on the ministers of the day, certainly did on critical occasions represent Scotch feeling. The murder of Porteous rightly excited vehement indignation in England, yet the measure inflicting punishments upon Edinburgh for popular connivance with an atrocious crime was, by the fierce opposition of the Scotch members, reduced to the imposition of a moderate fine for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. The proposal to punish Edinburgh was never forgiven, and, as Lecky points out, the animosity of Scotch legislators hastened Walpole's fall. An English member who, on another occasion, used language in Parliament felt to be an insult to Scotchmen, was deprived by the Scotch vote of his seat on an election committee. Another instance of the parliamentary power exerted by Scotch feeling is to be found in the successful opposition headed by Sir Walter Scott to the suppression of Scotch one-pound notes. The ministers of the day who proposed a change which was very possibly wise, and was certainly not intended as an affront to Scotchmen, were Tories, little disposed to yield to popular agitation. They were supported by a large Tory majority. But, for all this, the wish of Scotland made itself felt in Parliament, and Scotland to this day enjoys the privilege of having the nastiest and dirtiest little notes to be found in the United Kingdom.

The Scotch members, moreover, obtained for their country the inestimable benefit of being left, as regards Scotch affairs, to

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itself. At the time of the Union, Scotland was already provided with institutions, and especially with an educational and ecclesiastical system, which admirably suited the wants of Scotchmen. The social condition of Scotland was in the main sound. The very best thing for Scotchmen was to be left alone. Two things they needed: free trade with England, and a wide career for Scotch energy and talent. The first was given to Scotchmen by the treaty of Union; the second was gained for them by the astuteness and vigor of their parliamentary representatives. If this be remembered, even the selfishness, we might almost say the greediness, of Scotch members who supported every Government in turn, on the implied understanding that Scotchmen were to receive an exorbitant share of official appointments, may be regarded in rather a more favorable light than that in which it is looked upon by Whigs who cannot forgive the constant support given by Scotch members to George III. and his favorite Ministers. That the members sent from Scotland to Westminster were men bent on pursuing their own personal ends, that they cared little for the general interest of Great Britain, that their presence at Westminster did not raise the tone of English politics, is pretty certain. Dundas, with his merits and his faults, was a typical Scotch politician; but by Scotchmen and even by Englishmen much may be forgiven to Dundas and men like him because they certainly strove to promote the welfare, if not exactly of Scotland, yet of a large number of Scotchmen, and did open careers for their countrymen in which Scotchmen rendered great service to Great Britain. It was no bad thing that Scotch energy and honesty found employment in the government of Britain's Indian dominions. Whether the tacit compact by which Scotch members supported any Ministry that gave a large share of official appointments to Scotchmen, was or was not in the long run beneficial to Great Britain, is a matter with which Scotchmen in the eighteenth century concerned themselves but little, and which we need not discuss. All that need here be maintained is, that this kind of compact was part of a policy which approved itself to Scotchmen. The political vices with which Englishmen reproached Scotch members arose, not from the failure of these members to follow the wishes of their countrymen, but from the tendency of Scotch members to represent only too truly the desires, not only of the electors of Scotland, but of all Scotchmen who took an active part in public life.

Any man, then, who looks historical facts in the face, must come to the conclusion that while the Scotch representative system was full of anomalies and vices, yet during the eighteenth century at any rate the will of the Scotch people did obtain effective representation in the Parliament at Westminster. From this conclusion he may draw the further inference that just as the very best of constitutions which philosophers or statesmen can frame cannot of itself ensure the welfare of a State whose inhabitants do not possess the virtues necessary for the discharge of the duties of citizens, so the most ill-contrived of polities may suffice to ensure the prosperity of a vigorous people who possess a large amount of civic virtue. He may also find in the actual prosperity of Scotland during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the explanation and even the justification of the aversion felt by men as patriotic and wise as Sir Walter Scott for any scheme of wide constitutional reform. No man assuredly ever loved Scotland better or was better acquainted with the Scotch people than was Sir Walter. He knew and even exaggerated the merits of his countrymen; he knew that somehow or other Scotch virtues had been fostered and Scotch prosperity had increased under the faultiest of parliamentary institutions. He, and Tories like him, dreaded so-called reform because they believed that it might sweep away many of the virtues and decrease the welfare of Scotchmen.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

The Annual of the British School at Athens. No. IX. Session 1902-1903. The Macmillan Co. 1904.

No archæological publication is awaited with greater interest than Mr. Arthur Evans's annual accounts of the progress of his excavations at Cnossus in Crete. From the first, in 1901, these reports have been models of promptness and precision, with sufficient plans and illustrations from photographs to make the text clear. In his reports of his early excavations, Dr. Schliemann was prompt, but not precise nor systematic; the accounts of many other explorers have been clear and scientific, but published only after long delay. The Cretan explorations of the Italians at Phæstus and Hagia Triada have received less attention than they deserve because their publication has been incomplete and rather inaccessible.

At the close of the first year's excavations on the site of Cnossus, in 1900, Mr. Evans thought that his work there was about half done, and at the opening of the excavations in 1903 he hoped to complete the undertaking that year; but his discoveries of last year were as unexpected and interesting as any since the first, and the field of exploration was largely extended. A considerable part (pp. 35-59) of this report is devoted to the Central Palace Sanctuary and its great temple-repositories, in which were found not only important inscribed clay tablets and impressions of seals, but a mass of objects of faïence ware, with evidence that the palace had a factory for such ware—a prehistoric Sèvres or Meissen. Vases, cups, and bowls of divers shapes were found, with ornamentation of foliage, flowers, and fruit, flyingfish, nautilus, etc. Far the most important of the objects found here, however, were faïence figures about a foot in height of a "snake goddess," and two female votaries, accompanied by other votive objects, robes, and girdles, in the same material. In this repository was "a cross of fine-veined marble and of orthodox Greek shape," nearly nine inches in width. This is conjectured by Mr. Evans to have been the central cult-object in this shrine, corresponding to the "Sacral Horns" on the very much ruder "Shrine of the Double Axes," which was discovered and published a year earlier, and he presents a conjectural arrangement of the shrine, with the goddess on one side of the cross and her votaries on the other, votive robes hung on the wall, and a mass of ornamented cockle-shells in the foreground.

The goddess entwined by serpents and adored by votaries with serpents in their hands will doubtless rouse mythologists to the consideration of her chthonic and other relations. Mr. Evans is inclined to believe that he has found in her the original Aphrodite, and that her worship spread from Crete to Paphos and to Cythera, to Gaza and to Eryx. But the women's garb, singularly modern in some respects, may interest even a wider public. Lady Evans has given a description of it in modern terms. The goddess seems to be wearing three garments: "a skirt made without gathers . . . decorated with horizontal lines," "a double apron or 'polonaise,' made without fulness, reaching to the knee at the back and front, and rising to the hips at the sides," "decorated round its edge by a 'guilloche' pattern," which may be embroidery, and "a tight-fitting jacket-bodice, made of rich stuff, decorated, apparently, in embroidery, with a pattern formed of volutes." "In front the bodice is cut away in a V-shape from the shoulders to a point at the waist, leaving the neck and both breasts absolutely bare," not unlike the bodice figured on a silver hairpin from the third Mycenæan grave. "From just below the breasts the edges of the jackets seem to be braided in curved patterns, and laced across from this braiding by cords." The head is covered by a high cap or tiara, and the hair falls to the shoulders in long locks. The garb of the votaries is similar.

Important for comparison are terra-cotta figurines discovered last year by the British at Petsofa, near Palæcastro, in Eastern Crete, and published in this Annual. Though the headdress and skirt differ, the figures are in harmony as to the covering of the upper part of the body—at least, in this, that the breasts are exposed, though the woman wears a waist or a bodice. This is a capital confirmation of the observation, apparently not yet published, of a distinguished Berlin scholar a year ago, that the female figures on the gold seal rings found by Schliemann at Mycenæ (which, from the ordinary reproductions in plaster or by photographic process, seem to have no covering for the upper part of the body, though their skirts are so elaborately fashioned) really wear a light, sack-like garment which does not cover the bosom, but may be distinguished at the sides, near the arms. The skirts of the Mycenæan and Cnossian ladies are alike in being flounced, but the Mycenæan ladies had no such laced bodice as that worn at Cnossus, nor such a high Mediceau collar as was the fashion in eastern Crete. The Petsofa women apparently wore hoops (in the second millennium B. C.)—a mere abundance of petticoats would hardly account for the bell shape of their skirts—and their gown seems much more a single garment than does the garb of the snake goddess. Mr. J. L. Myres finds relations between the bodice and skirt worn in Crete and those from the (early bronze age) tumulus of Borum-Eshöe in Denmark, with the differences to be expected from the difference of climate; he also illustrates the headgear of Eastern Crete by the "plate-hats" of recent fashion books. Though the goddess has a matronly de-

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velopment, her waist is exceedingly small, and her outline would satisfy the most fashionable dressmaker of the present year. As at Mycenæ, the men's garb is less elaborate, being in general only a loincloth. Clearly the dress of the women cannot be reconciled with that of Homeric Greece, though if Aphrodite wore such a bodice when she went to call Helen from the Great Tower of Ilium, she might have been recognized by "her lovely breasts" (Iliad iii. 397) in spite of her assuming the face of an old woman.

The newly discovered inscribed clay tablets allow stricter definitions to be made with regard to the early writing. The linear script, as was to be expected, is proved later than the pictographic script. Of the two varieties of linear script, class A is found to have been used during the first period of the later palace. Class B is believed to be parallel to class A, and not derived from it. Mr. Evans thinks that the change from the one to the other indicates not an ethnic break, but a dynastic revolution. What has been accomplished toward the decipherment of the tablets, the report does not intimate. A fragment of a tablet is figured which formed part of the inventory, and represents one of the ewers and basins found in the repository.

At a little distance from the palace, Mr. Evans discovered a Royal Villa, an elaborate structure which had certainly three floors, and probably four. Its *megaron*, with raised tribunal, gypsum throne, and a balustrade before this, and a lamp of lilac-colored gypsum about three feet in height on the steps, is believed by Mr. Evans to be the original type of a royal hall, from which the later basilica was descended. The likeness is certainly striking, but several links seem still to be missing in the historical chain. This villa was not destroyed by fire, like the palace, but was abandoned, plundered, and left to gradual decay.

As for Mr. Evans's Theatral Area—broad steps at right angles to each other—he makes out a very plausible case for its use for public shows, *i. e.*, for dances or pugilistic contests; it would not do for the contests with bulls, suggested by the frescoes found two or three years before. The bastion in the angle between the steps may, as he thinks, have held the canopy for the royal party. On these steps about 500 spectators might have been seated. But why the semi-circular form should not have been adopted, is not clear, and the discussion of these steps cannot be separated from that of the similar steps at Phæstus, for which the material does not seem to be ready.

Mr. Evans calls attention to the evidence of close relations between Crete and Egypt—clumps of crocuses used in decorations as adaptation of clumps of lotus flowers, and a painted jar with papyrus reliefs; but he does not touch the important question of the relation between the earlier and the later civilization of Crete. Evidently he is waiting for new evidence. The fact that the earlier palaces both at Cnossus and at Phæstus were destroyed by violence, so that they had to be entirely rebuilt, when joined with the obvious superiority of the so-called Camáres pottery over the early Mycenæan which followed it in use, would suggest not only a struggle and conquest, but also the introduction of a new people. Mr. Evans seems to hold strongly to the continuity of race, and to the development of the "Mycenæan" civilization in Crete. He has better information on this subject than any other scholar, and gratitude for the facts which he supplies should give patience to wait for evidence for some inferences.

The magnitude of the excavations at Cnossus has obscured unduly the importance of the other British excavations in Crete. In this Annual, Mr. Bosanquet, Director of the British School at Athens, and his associates give an excellent account of the second season's work at Palæcastro, at the eastern end of the island. Here they have uncovered no palace—perhaps we have Cretan palaces enough, at Cnossus and at Phæstus, with the royal villas near the one and a few miles removed from the other—but the remains of an early prosperous town, with a still earlier cemetery not far away. The narrowness of the streets, of which few are wider than twelve or fifteen feet, need not mislead us to suppose this a mean town; the houses were not high, and doubtless horses were not used in the streets, and no great width was necessary. The pottery found here is even more beautiful and more varied in design than that at Cnossus. A lovely fruit-stand, of Camáres ware, painted red and white, about a foot in height, was found complete. Mycenæan conical "fillers," charmingly decorated, tankards, and mugs, in great variety, form such a collection as had not been known before. Not only in garb but in other matters, too, the old Cretans were strikingly "up to date": several dishes were found, of elegant shape, combined with fire-boxes which could be filled with burning charcoal; this was "prevented from falling out by stopping the big hole with clay, air being supplied through the smaller holes," and these vessels served the purpose of the modern hot-water plate, keeping food warm.

In addition to the Cretan reports, Prof. W. M. Ramsay has a long article on Pisidia and the Lycaonian frontier, rectifying on fuller information the boundary line which he drew in his 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' in which work the Pamphylian frontier and many towns were set too far north. Mr. Dawkins contributes "Notes from Carpathos," after a three weeks' visit to that island, with a special study of primitive wooden locks and of the principles of inheritance in the island. Mr. Wace furnishes a discussion of Apollo on the Omphalos, and Mr. Tod edits a hitherto unpublished Attic decree, of about 303 B. C. The Annual closes with a brief account, and plans, sections, and elevations, of the little church of the monastery at Daou Mendeli in Attica. The book has a satisfactory, though not full, index.

Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., Hon. LL. D. Edin., Professor of Sanskrit, Cambridge, 1867-1903. By George Cowell, F.R.C.S. Macmillan Co. 1904.

One wonders at first why this book was written. The life-history of a shy student whose chief interest lay in editing Sanskrit texts could appeal to the public only by accident. If chance had made Cowell a conspicuous figure in the Sepoy rebellion, through which he lived unobserved in India, or if he had mingled with men of affairs after returning to Europe, there might have been more obvious reasons for exhibiting his life. But above all he was a quiet, reserved, unassertive scholar, who disliked publicity and devoted himself to his work and wife, differing in no respect from many other modest men of even greater reputation, whose lives and family correspondence are their private property. It is eminently fitting that we should have a life of Hunter, who was a public man and somewhat of a politician as well as a scholar, and one feels that Max Müller belonged in a sense to the public for which he catered; but Roth and Weber and Whitney and Cowell—these were men of a different stamp, and one can but think it almost indelicate to expose to the eyes of a public from which such scholars withdrew themselves the intimate details of their private lives.

With this protest, however, it must be said that the present biography has a charm of its own. Being forced, as it were, to view this life from within, one finds it complete and satisfactory; and after all, when the squeamishness which is felt at first is suppressed and one has learned to know the scholar as a man, one must admit that it is a pleasure to have had the experience, despite the details which seem to be needed in order to fill the volume, or rather to fill out the picture. That Cowell was accustomed to say, "Why, *dear* me," and to pronounce extra*or*dinary, as if it had six syllables, are pretty petty facts, such as are appropriate to a family reunion when one revives memories of one's relatives. But other characteristics—Cowell's love of home, his appreciation of poetry, his distaste for Browning's verse because "it does not give one the pleasure and quiet rest which really beautiful poetry naturally does," his simple goodness and lack of all affectation—these fit in together and make a very pleasing portrait of a man who worked hard and lived serene, satisfied to win approval from his conscience and his colleagues.

Perhaps the most striking incidents in the career of this venerable Sanskrit scholar were his marriage with a woman much older than himself, and his friendship with Edward FitzGerald. Cowell left school at sixteen and spent nine years in a counting-house, where he would probably have remained to the end of his life if his wife had not incited him to undertake a university career. He went to Oxford at her instigation. There he gained culture, "but not the Cambridge kind of scholarship." He was a natural student, but lacked initiative. His sprightly and confident wife made him what he was externally. She insisted on his genius finding its proper place, and she succeeded. He got a post in Calcutta and afterwards in England. He wrote mainly for Sanskritists, and always remained the best type of profound scholar, being widely known as the editor of many Sanskrit and Pali works, as a translator of Persian poetry, and as the author of historical studies. That is all there is in Cowell's life. FitzGerald's friendship and letters form a considerable part of it as described in this volume. From Cowell the Laird of Little Grange learned Persian and was wont to call the professor his master (a title Cowell admitted), as well as overpraise him, which he gently resented. "Exaggerated praise," he says, "is not well. This praise is *not true*, and so I shrink from it."

If ever this book goes into a second edition, its author, who is a cousin of the late

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Professor Cowell, should have some Sanskrit scholar revise the proof-sheets. The learned professor at Cambridge would have been shocked at several points had he been privileged to read his own biography: Deussen not Denssen (p. 328 and repeated in the Index), is the name of a well-known German Sanskritist. On page 358, Kaurnudi is for Kaumudi. Still worse is the repeated mistranslation (pp. 381, 382), "Thou art thou" for "That art thou" of the famous and oft-quoted epitome of Vedanta philosophy, *tat tvam asi*, "Thou art that" (Brahma, the All); as Professor Cowell himself paraphrases, "Each is himself a part."

A History of Ottoman Poetry. By the late E. J. W. Gibb. Vol. III. Edited by E. G. Browne, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. London: Luzac & Co. Pp. xvi., 382.

With each new volume of this work, the greatness of our loss in the too early death of its author is becoming clearer. Professor Browne is editing the remains most rightly with a scrupulous self-repression. To draw from him a footnote of protest requires something, for him, so serious as a complete ignoring of Qa'ani, the Persian realist of the last century. Evidently, on this point, Mr. Gibb agreed pretty closely with Paul Horn, as the latter's 'Geschichte der Persischen Litteratur' shows, and disagreed with Professor Browne. But apart from such temptation, Professor Browne's footnotes are mostly melancholy indications that the contents of this volume must have been written some time before Mr. Gibb's death, and would, in the event of his life, have been expanded and revised in the light of fuller sources which had become open to him. Thus, several times there stands in the text a regret that such or such a *diwan* had been inaccessible, and we learn below from Professor Browne that the very book needed had been acquired at a later date. Nothing could make more clear the fundamental character of the work done by Mr. Gibb, based essentially on MSS., and the extreme difficulty which any student of this subject must meet in collecting his sources. Possessed of considerable private means, Mr. Gibb was in precisely the position to be able to carry on such researches.

Again, the object of the book is becoming plainer. The weight of the mass of translated poetry is making itself felt. In fact, on one side, the book may be viewed as an anthology of Turkish poetry strung on a thread of criticism, literary history, and biography. So, if there is in this, as the author confesses, a "somewhat depressing monotony," there is also revealed for the first time a great body of genuine literature and a most singular development of æsthetic art. It will come to most readers almost with the shock of the ludicrous, that the supposedly savage and sensual Turks should have developed and clung for centuries to a poetic art which could be thus described:

"The aim of succeeding generations of poets has been to build up a literary idiom as remote as possible from the speech of every-day life, an idiom from which everything Turkish that could be eliminated should be removed, and into which everything Persian that could be introduced should be brought. The result of all this is that the language wherein these poets wrote is, and always has been, utterly unintelligible to the vast majority of the people. The poets wrote for themselves, or at most for one another; not for the public, whom they altogether ignored. And this highly artificial idiom, which now at the close of the classic period, after the efforts of some three centuries and a half, we find flourishing as the literary dialect of Turkey, is beyond all question extremely beautiful. So deftly has the rich but delicate Persian embroidery been worked upon the Turkish background that the two, while each remains perfectly distinct, form one harmonious though resplendent whole. The scope which it affords for artistic skill in the choice of words and in the manipulation of phrases renders this idiom a delicate and subtle instrument in the hand of a master; and to such as can appreciate it there is an æsthetic pleasure in the study of poems like those of Nef'i or Na'ili, considered solely and simply as works of art, without regard to any meaning their words may convey."

It is this art, then, which Mr. Gibb's exceedingly clever translations reproduce most faithfully for us. Their very abstruseness and preciousness make their value as interpretations.

But such an art could not last. It was bound by successive refinements, in its lack of contact with life, to pass the point of intelligibility, through the Persian embroidery covering and concealing the Turkish material and background. Poetry cannot live which is absolutely separated from spontaneousness and requires a special training to understand it. The mystery in this case is that the method should have lasted so long, and should so evidently have attracted and subdued all the poetic impulse of the Turks. But with the close of the present volume we begin to see its end. We are carried from A. D. 1520, when the reign of Suleyman the Great marked the widest extension of Turkish empire and the culminating point of Turkish poetry of the type just described, to 1712, the year of the death of Nabi, in whom we find this classic age growing into an age of transition, and the objective genius of the Turks themselves beginning to find utterance. The way is being opened to the succeeding romantic period, and to that intensely modern period in which Turkish literature now moves. It will be learned with regret that Mr. Gibb's account of this modern school was left very incomplete. On Kemal Bey, for example, perhaps the most weighty of its three pioneers, there is only a number of pencil jottings. Yet this modern development in Turkish is one of the most interesting phases of the awakening of the East. In it, and in it alone, has Turkey sincerely joined the European world, and in it the change has been as absolute as any made by Japan in other fields. With it, too, Mr. Gibb was thoroughly in sympathy and closely in touch, and our regret is, therefore, the greater that his unique opportunity and equipment should have left so little fruit. There is no one now, it may be safely said, who can give in English the appreciation which we might have had from him.

The American Constitutional System: An Introduction to the Study of the American State. By Westel Woodbury Willoughby. The Century Co. 1904.

This is the first of a series of volumes bearing the title "The American State," and designed to describe in detail the organization and operations of the governmental agencies of the United States, Federal, State, and local. It prepares the way by a very good examination of the constitutional character of the American State. It is not strictly a law book, but a statement of the general principles in accordance with which the legal powers of governmental agencies are exercised. For instance, there is an analysis of the general relation between the Federal and State Governments; a discussion of nullification, secession, and reconstruction, and the Constitutional status of acquired territory. Here the author follows the courts, and the result is an elementary hand-book of Federal Constitutional law, with all necessary citations scrupulously given. In addition to this there is enough history to connect the exposition with the author's theory of the "Federal State"; for this we must refer the reader to the book itself. It can hardly be set forth in a few words. We do not ourselves attach to it the importance which it holds in Mr. Willoughby's view.

The author is one of those writers on government who are wedded to the belief that, to understand the operation of a government, the first necessity is to fix upon an absolute sovereign somewhere. This step presents peculiar difficulties in the case of the United States, because here we have a Government avowedly Federal, formed by States once confessedly sovereign, and still treated as legally sovereign within the sphere of action in which they have not delegated their sovereignty. Lawyers say that the Government of the United States is one of "delegated powers," and that in many respects the States are still sovereign, while internationally and for many other purposes the only sovereign is the United States. But Mr. Willoughby is not satisfied with this, and goes so far as to speak of the States as "simply governmental or administrative districts of the United States." The theory does not seem to us to be an integral part of the book, nor to find support in those decisions of the courts to which we must all look in the long run for the true exposition of the foundations of our institutions, and on which most of Mr. Willoughby's superstructure rests.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, W. Davenport. A Dictionary of the Drama. Vol. I. J. B. Lippincott Co.
Alexander, Mary W. The Table. D. Appleton & Co. $1.25 net.
American Literary Criticism. Edited by William M. Payne. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.40 net.
Atkinson, Edward. Facts and Figures. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50 net.
Austen, Jane. Pride and Prejudice. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
Baker, M. N. British Sewage Works. The Engineering News Publishing Co.
Boole, M. E. The Preparation of the Child for Science. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 2s.
Boswell's Life of Johnson. Edited by Mowbray Morris. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
Bradford, Amory H. Messages of the Masters. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 65 cents net.
Briggs, Charles Augustus. The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50 net.
Bullen, Frank T. Denizens of the Deep. Fleming H. Revell Co. $1.75 net.
Burland, Harris. The Princess Thora. Little, Brown & Co.
Carter, Mary Elizabeth. House and Home. A. S. Barnes & Co.
Clapp, Eleanor B. The Courtesies. A. S. Barnes & Co.
Crawford, F. Marion. Whosoever Shall Offend. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Cross, John W. Life of George Eliot. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
Dargan, Olive Tilford. Semiramis and Other Plays. Brentano's.
Deecke, W. Italy. Translated by H. A. Nesbit. The Macmillan Co. $5.
Dole, Nathan Haskell. Peace and Progress. The Plimpton Press.
Dole, Nathan Haskell. The Greek Poets. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
English, Thomas Dunn. The Little Giant. A. C. McClurg & Co.

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Farrar, Frederic W. The Life of Christ. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
Fechner, Gustav Theodor. The Little Book of Life after Death. Translated by Mary C. Wadsworth. Little, Brown & Co.
Fiske, John. New France and New England. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $4 net.
Flammarion, Camille. Astronomy for Amateurs. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.
Fox, John, Jr. Christmas Eve on Lonesome. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
French, Alice. The Story of Rolf and the Viking's Bow. Little, Brown & Co. $1.50.
Gaskell, Mrs. Life of Charlotte Bronte. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
Grey, Barton. The Heart's Quest. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Grinnell, George Bird. Jack in the Rockies. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $1.25.
Harris, Joel Chandler. The Tar-Baby. D. Appleton & Co. $2 net.
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